

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER FIRST.

समर्थः पदविधिः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ समर्थः , पद-विधिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिभाषेयम् , यः कश्चिदिह शास्त्रे पदविधिः भूयते स समर्थो वेदितव्यः ॥

1. A rule which relates to complete words (and not to the roots and affixes out of which the words are constructed) is to be understood to apply only to those words the senses of which are connected.

1. This is a paribhāshā or interpreting aphorism. Wherever in this Grammar a पदविधि is found, that must be understood to apply to समर्थ words. A rule relating to पद or complete words is called पदविधि. The word विधि is formed by adding वि to the root धाम्; that which is ordained (विधीयते) is called विधि. What are those rules which are ordained with regard to complete words? They are as follows.—(1) Rules relating to समास or compounding of words; (2) Rules relating to विभक्ति or the application of declensional and conjugational affixes; (3) and the rule by which one word is considered as if it had become a constituent member of another word (पराङ्मत् भाव).

The word समर्थ means capable; that is to say, that which is capable of expressing the sense of a sentence on analysis, is called समर्थ; or the word समर्थ may mean that which depends upon words as connected in sense; that is to say, a rule relating to words whose senses are connected together.

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 24 'a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words भित् , अतीत &c. and forms tatpurusha compound;' as, कष्टं भित् = कष्टभित्: 'who has had recourse to pain.' But when these words are not समर्थ or connected in sense there can be no compounding; as, पश्य देवदत्त कष्टं, भित्तो विष्णुमित्रो गुरुकुलम् 'see O Devadatta, the pain, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house.' Here the words कष्टं and भित् though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, as they are not समर्थ.

Similarly, it will be taught in sūtra 30 'a word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes that the quality of which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the 3rd case-affix and with the word भय 'wealth;' as, शंकुजया + खण्डः = शंकुजाखण्डः 'a piece cut by nippers.' Here also when the words are not connected in sense there is no composition; as, करिष्यसि शंकुजया, खण्डो देवदत्त उपलेन 'thou shalt do it with the nippers, Devadatta is cut by the stones.'

Similarly, sūtra 36 declares, 'a word ending with the 4th case-affix, is compounded optionally with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix, and so too with the words भय, बलि &c.'

Thus यूपाय + दाह = यूपदाह 'wood for a stake.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गच्छ त्वं यूपाय, दाह देवदत्तस्य गेहे 'go thou for the stake, the wood is in Devadatta's house.'

Similarly, sūtra 37 declares 'a word ending with the 5th case-affix may be compounded with the word भय; as, वृकोभ्यो + भय = वृकभय 'fear by reason of a wolf.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गच्छ त्वं मां वृकोभ्यो, भयं देवदत्तस्य यज्ञदत्तात् 'come thou to me from the wolves, there is fear to Devadatta from Yajñadatta.'

Similarly, sūtra II. 2. 8 declares 'a word ending with the 6th case-affix is optionally compounded with what ends with a case-affix;' as, राज्ञः पुरुषो = राजपुरुषः 'the king's man.' But when the words are not connected in sense, there is no composition: as भार्या राज्ञः, पुरुषो देवदत्तस्य 'the wife of the king, the man of Devadatta.'

Similarly, sūtra 40 declares. 'A word ending with the 7th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word शौण्ड 'skilled;' as, अक्षेणु शौण्डः = अक्षशौण्डः 'skilled in dice.' But when the words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, अक्षस्त्वमक्षेणु, शौण्डः पिवति पानागारे 'thou art skilled in dice, the gambler drinks in the tavern.'

Why have we used the word पद 'a complete word' in the sūtra? So that this समर्थ परिभाषा may not apply to वर्णविधि *i. e.* rules relating to letters.

Thus rules of सन्धि 'conjunction of letters' are वर्णविधि and not पदविधि; and therefore the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply here. Two words however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 77 declares: 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyāhāra इक् there is one denoted by the pratyāhāra यण, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyāhāra अच् immediately follows;' as, इधि + अग्रान = इध्याग्रान. This substitution of य for इ will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as

तिष्ठतु इष्यशान स्वं शक्रेण 'let the curd remain, eat thou with the vegetable curry.' So also तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छन्नं हर देवदत्तात् 'let the girl be, take the umbrella from Devadatta.' Here the augment तुक् (त subsequently changed into च) comes between कुमारी and छन्न, though the two words are not connected in sense (VI. 1. 76).

सुवामन्त्रिते पराङ्गवत्स्वरे ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, आमन्त्रिते,
पर-अङ्गवत्, स्वरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तमामन्त्रिते परतः परस्याङ्गवद् भवति, स्वरे, स्वरलक्षणे कर्त्तव्ये ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुबन्तस्य पराङ्गवद्भावे समानाधिकरणस्योपसंख्यानमनन्तरत्वात् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्ययानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

2. A word ending in sup or a case affix, when followed by a word in the vocative case, is regarded as if it was the aṅga or component part of such subsequent vocative word, when a rule relating to accent is to be applied.

In other words, the word ending in a case-affix enters, as if, into the body of the vocative (Āmantrita) word; as it will be taught in sūtra VI. 1. 198 which declares 'a word ending in a vocative case-affix, gets the udātta accent on the beginning *i.e.*, first syllable.' Now, this rule will apply even when a word ending with a case-affix precedes such word in the vocative case. Thus the word पत्नी 'O two lords!' has udātta on the first syllable. Now, when this word is preceded by another inflected noun as शुभस् 'of prosperity,' the accent will fall on शु, the two words being considered as a single word; as:—अश्विना यज्वरीरिदो द्रवत् पाणी शुभस्पती ॥ पुरुभुजा चनस्यतम् ॥ Rig. I. 3. 1. 'O Asvins, riding on quick horses, lords of prosperity, and bestowers of plenty of food, eat the sacrificial offerings to your satisfaction.' So also in the following:—कुण्डे नाड् 'O thou wandering with a bowl. परगुत्रा वृधन् 'O thou cutting with an axe.' मद्राणां राजन् 'O thou king of Madras.' कश्मीराणाम् राजन् 'O thou king of Kashmir.'

Why do we say 'a word ending with a case-affix?' If the preceding word ends with any other affix than a case-affix, this rule will not apply. As पीड्ये पीड्यमान 'O thou who art pained, I am pained because of this thy pain.'

Here पीड्ये 'being a तिङन्त (a verb)' is not considered as an aṅga of the vocative word.

Why do we say 'when followed by a word in the vocative case?' This rule will not apply when the subsequent word is not a vocative. As गेहे गार्ग्यः 'Gārgya is at home.'

Why do we say 'of the subsequent?' It will not be a part of the vocative word which precedes. As देवदत्त कुण्डेनाटन् 'O Devadatta wandering with a bowl' Here कुण्डेन has not become part of Devadatta, but of the subsequent word अटन्.

Why do we say 'an aṅga or component part?' Both must be considered as one word for the application of the rule of accent, so that the first syllable of each word separately may not get the udatta.

Why do we say 'as if or वत्.' It is not altogether the body of the subsequent word; rules depending upon its own separate independent existence also take effect.

Thus rule VIII. 1. 55 declares 'a word ending in the vocative case is not anudatta when it follows the word अम् there intervening a word between itself and अम्; as, आम् कुण्डेनाटन्! Here kuṇḍena is considered a separate word for the purposes of Rule VIII. 1. 55 and is said to intervene between अम् and the vocative word अटन्.

Why do we say 'for the purposes of the application of rule of accent?' For the purposes of the application of any other rule, it will not be the aṅga of the subsequent word; as, कुणे सिञ्चन् 'O thou sprinkling in the well.' चर्म नमन्. Here had कुणे and चर्म been the aṅgas of the subsequent words for all purposes, their च and न would have been changed into ष and ण respectively by Rules VII. 4. 2 &c.

Vart:—When a word ending in a case-affix becomes, as if, the component part of the subsequent word, it becomes so even when there are several words in apposition with it which intervene between it and the vocative word; because that, of itself, does not constitute want of immediateness. Thus तीक्ष्णया सूच्या सीद्यन् 'O thou sewing with a sharp needle' तीक्ष्णेन परगुना वृथन्.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of indeclinable words. As उच्चैरपीयान 'O thou reading loudly.' नीचैरपीयान.

प्राक्कडारारत्समासः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, कडारात्,

समासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडारसंशब्दनात् प्राग् यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम स्ते समाससंज्ञा वेदितव्याः ॥

3. From this point up to the aphorism kaḍa-rakarmadhāraye (II. 2. 38), all the terms that we shall say describe will get the designation of samāsa or compound.

Thus it will be stated. 'The indeclinable word **सहा** when not meaning like unto.' Here the word **समास** must be read into the *sūtra* to complete the sense. In fact this chapter and the second chapter treat of compounds and therefore the word compound must be read in all those aphorisms.

The word *prāk* is employed for the same purpose as it was used in I. 4. 56 that is to give the designation of **समास** to various technical terms like **अनुययीभाव** &c. which otherwise would not have got the name of **समास**.

सह सुपा ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह , सुपा (सुप् समासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुविति सहेति सुपेति च अयमभ्यधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् अहित ऊर्ध्वं मनुकमिष्यान् स्तनेह मुपलितं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

4. The words 'saha supā' meaning 'with a word ending in a case-affix,' are to be understood in each of the succeeding aphorisms.

In this aphorism the word **सुप्** is understood from *sūtra* 2, so that it consists of three words *vis.*, **सुप्**, **सह**, **सुपा**. All these three words jointly and severally, one at a time or two at a time, should be understood as governing the succeeding aphorisms, as the contingency of each *sūtra* may require. This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the *sūtras* that follow.

Why have we used the word **सह**? Well, without it the *sūtra* would have stood thus: **सुप् सुपा** 'a noun may be compounded with another noun.' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word **सह** is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite *sūtra* into two separate and simple *sūtras*, namely:—

(1). **सह , सुप् , समस्यते समयेन** 'a case-inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense.' Here the word **सह** with the help of the three words **सुप्** taken from *sūtra* 2, **समस्यते** from *sūtra* 3, and **समयेन** from *sūtra* 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like **अनुययिन् अनुशासकः**. The accent will depend upon these being considered as *samāsa*.

(2). **सुपा सह सुप् समस्यते** a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word. The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, **पुनरुत्सृत वासो देवं पुनर्मिष्टतो स्पः**. This also is for the sake of accents.

अव्ययी भावश्च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः , च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यानित कर्तृर्मनुकृतिभ्यामो ऽव्ययीभावसंज्ञा स्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

5. From this forward whatever we shall describe will get the name of Avyayībhāva samāsa or adverbial compound.

This is also an adhikāra aphorism like the last. As far as sūtra 21, the compounds treated of, will get the designation of Avyayībhāva. The word अव्ययीभाव like the word कर्मप्रवचनीय is a self-descriptive term, and not an arbitrary term like हि , चि &c. When that which was not an indeclinable becomes an indeclinable, it is called अव्ययीभाव or 'becoming an indeclinable.' In the Avyayībhāva compound the sense of the first of its elements is the main one or the independent one on which the other depends.

अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसम्बृद्धिव्यृद्धयर्थाभावात्प्रययासम्प्रतिशब्दप्रादुर्भाव
पश्चाद्यथानुपूर्व्ययोगपद्यसादृश्यसंपत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥
अव्ययम्, विभक्ति-समीप-सम्बृद्धि-व्यृद्धि-अर्थाभाव-अटयय-असम्प्रति-शब्दप्रादुर्भाव-
यश्चाद्-यथा-आनुपूर्व-योगपद्य-सादृश्य-सम्पत्ति-साकल्य-अन्त-वचनेषु, (सुप सुपा
अव्ययीभावः समासः) (समर्थः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभक्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु यदव्ययं वसंते तत् समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते अव्ययीभाव
श्च समासो भवति ॥

6. An indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective-affix (vibhakti) or of near to, or prosperity, or adversity, or absence of the thing, or departure, or not now, or the production of some sound, or after, or according to, or order of arrangement, or simultaneousness, or likeness, or possession, or totality, or termination, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is connected with it in sense, and the compound so formed is called Avyayībhāva.

The words सुप् and सुपा are understood in this sūtra. The word वचन should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases.

1. विभक्तिवचन;—As अधिस्त्रि कथा वसंतो 'a story relating to women.'
अधिकुमारी 'relating to a girl.'
2. समीपवचन;—As उपकुम्भम् 'near to the jar.' उपमणिकम् 'near to the gem.'
3. समृद्धिवचन;—As सुमद्रं 'well or prosperous with the Madras';
सुमगधं 'well with the Magadh.'
4. व्युद्धिवचन;—As दुर्गवादिक् 'ill with the Gavadikas'; दुर्वचनं 'ill with the
Yavanas.'
5. अभाववचन;—As निर्मच्छिकम् 'free from flies'; निर्मशुकं 'free from
mosquitoes.'
6. भरययवचन;—As निर्हैमम् 'on the departure of the cold weather';
निःशीतं .
7. असम्प्रतिवचन;—As अतितैसुकम् 'past (not now) the time of wearing
quilts.'
8. शब्दमातृभाववचन;—As इति हरि 'the exclamation Hari' (thus वैष्णवगृहे
इति हरि वसंतो 'in the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari').
9. पश्चाद्वचन;—As अनुरयं पादासम् 'the infantry after the chariots.'
10. यथार्थवचन;—The meaning of the word यथा is four-fold, viz. corres-
pondence, severality or succession, the not passing beyond something, and
likeness; thus (1) अनुरूपम् 'in a corresponding manner.' (2) प्रत्ययम् 'according
to each or several object or signification.' (3) यथाशक्ति 'according to one's
ability.'
11. आनुपूर्व्यवचन;—As अनुज्येष्ठं प्रविशन्तु भवन्तः 'let your honors enter
in the order of seniority.'
12. योगपथवचन;—As सचक्रं धेहि 'simultaneously with the wheel.'
13. सादृश्यवचन;—As ससखि 'like a friend.'
14. संपत्तिवचन;—As ससन्नम् 'as warriors ought.'
15. साकल्यवचन;—As सदणम् 'even to the grass' i.e. the whole,
not leaving even a scrap.
16. अन्तवचन;—As सामि as far as the chapter of fire (i.e. the whole
Veda).

यथा ऽसादृश्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा , असादृश्ये , (समर्थः सुप्त
सुपा अव्य०भा०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथेत्येतदव्ययमसादृश्ये वर्तमानं सुपा सह समसयते, ऽव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

7. The indeclinable word yathā when it does not signify 'likeness' is invariably compounded with a

word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it and the compound is called an *Avyayibhāva Samāsa*.

Thus *ययानुद्धम् ब्राह्मणानामन्वयस्व* invite every old Brahmana. So also *ययानुवचकम्*.

Why do we say 'when not signifying likeness?' For there is no composition when likeness is indicated. As *ययादेवदत्तस्तया यद्दत्तः*: As is *Devadatta* so is *Yajñadatta*.

This *samāsa* could have been included in the last *sūtra* clause 10, but making a separate *sūtra* shows that the word *ययार्थवचन* there, must be limited by the present *sūtra*, to first three meanings of the word *यया* given there and not to its fourth meaning. *viz.* there is no compounding when it means likeness.

यावद्वधारणे ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावद्, अवधारणे, (संयुपा
अठ्यथभासमास) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्विद्येतद्व्ययमवधारणे वर्तमानं युगा सह समस्यते भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

8. The indeclinable word *yāvat* when it signifies limitation, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*.

The word *अवधारण* means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation. As, *यावद् मत्तं ब्राह्मणानामन्वयस्व* 'invite so many Brāhmanas only and not more as there are pots': *i.e.*, if there are five pots then invite five Brāhmanas; if six pots, then invite six Brāhmanas.

Why do we say 'when meaning limitation'? Observe *यावदत्तं तावद् भुक्तम्* 'I ate so long as it was given to me,' *i.e.* I donot know for certainty how much I have eaten.

सुप्प्रतिनामात्रार्थे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, प्रतिना, मात्रा-अर्थे,
(अठ्यथभासमासह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रार्थे वर्तमानेन प्रतिना सह सुवर्त्म समस्यते भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

9. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word *prati*, when meaning 'a little' and the compound is called *Avyayibhāva*.

The word **नात्रा** means 'a drop,' 'a little,' 'a wee bit;' as, **शाकयति** 'a little of vegetable,' **सूपयति** 'a little of soup.'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe **वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत्** 'it lightens in the direction of the tree.' Here it is not compounded.

Though the word **sup** was, by **anuvritti** from **sûtra 2**, understood in this **sûtra**, its repetition in the text is for the purpose of indicating that the **anuvritti** of the word **अव्यय** which began with **sûtra 6** does not extend further into the subsequent **sûtras**.

The word **प्रतिना** being exhibited in the 3rd case-affix is not an **upasarjana** (I. 2. 43) and therefore, it comes as the last member of the compound (II. 2. 30).

अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणा ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्ष-शलाका-संख्याः, परिणा , (अ०स०सह) ॥

अक्षशब्दः शलाकाशब्दः संख्यासहस्रं परिणा सह समस्यन्ते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

10. The words **aksha**, 'a die for playing with,' **salâkâ** 'an ivory piece used in gambling,' and **sañkṣhyâ** 'numerals' are compounded with the word **pari**, and the compound formed is called **Avyayibhâva**.

This **समास** is restricted to terms applicable to gambling. Thus there is a game called **panchikâ** which is played with five dice or five ivory pieces. When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned down, then the thrower wins the game. But when the fall is otherwise, he loses. Thus **अज्ञपरि** 'an unlucky throw of dice,' **शलाकापरि**, 'an unlucky throw of ivory pieces'; so also **एकपरि** 'an unlucky throw by one over' **द्विपरि**, **त्रिपरि** and lastly **चतुःपरि**. This is the maximum. But when five are of one form, then of course, he wins.

विभाषा ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यद्विहितं ऊर्द्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तद्विभाषा भवति ॥

11. The word **vibhâshâ** or option governs all succeeding **sûtras**.

This is an **adhikâra sûtra**. All the rules of compounding given hereafter, are optional. The same sense can be expressed by the un-compounded words as by them when compounded. But not so are the compounds which have been treated of, before. Compounds like **सुमरं**, **यथावृद्धं**, **भक्षपरि** &c. mentioned above are invariable compounds (**निरय समास**), the sense conveyed by the compound term, not being capable of analysis, by taking the senses of

the separate members of the compounds, or at least not capable of expressing any sense without inserting extraneous words on analysis.

अपरिवहिरञ्चत्रः पञ्चम्या ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अप-परि-वहिः-
अञ्चत्रः, पञ्चम्या (स०अ० सह० वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरि वहिसु अञ्चु इत्येते सुबन्ताः पञ्चम्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यन्ते अग्ययी-
भावश्च समासो भवति ॥

12. The words *apa*, *pari*, *bahih* and indeclinables ending in *añchu* may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed will be *Avyayibhāva*.

As अत्रिगर्तम् वृष्टो देवः or अत्रिगर्तंभ्यो वृष्टो देवः 'it rained away from Trigarta. So also, परित्रिगर्तम् or परित्रिगर्तंभ्यः 'round about Trigarta,' बहिर्ग्रामम् or बहिर्ग्रामात् 'outside the village' प्राग् ग्रामम् or प्राग् ग्रामात् 'east of the village.'

Words formed from the verb अञ्चु 'to go,' are उत्तञ्च 'north' प्राञ्च 'east,' &c.

From this sūtra we learn by inference (*jñāpak*) that the word *वहिः* also governs the ablative case (see II. 3. 29).

आङ् मय्यादाभिविध्योः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, मय्यादा-अभि-
विध्योः, (स०अ०वि०पञ्चम्या सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् इत्येतन्मय्यादायामभिविधौ च वर्तमानं पञ्चम्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यते,
अग्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

13. The word *ân* when signifying limit exclusive or limit inclusive, may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*.

As, आपाटलिपुत्रं or आपाटलिपुत्रात् वृष्टो देवः 'it rained up to Pātaliputra.' आकुपरं or आकुपरंभ्यो यशः पाणिनेः 'the fame of Pāṇini extends even to the boys.'

लक्षणैनाभिप्रती आभिमुख्ये ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणैः, अभि-
प्रती, आभिमुख्ये, (स०अ०वि०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणं चिन्हं तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सहाभिप्रतीशब्दायाभिमुख्ये वर्तमानो विभाषा
समस्यते अग्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

14. The words *abhi* and *prati* when implying direction (towards), are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix denoting the limit, or the

goal which regulates or marks the direction; and the resulting compound is Avyayibhāva.

The word lakshana means a sign goal. See also I. 4. 84 and 90 for a further explanation of this word. As अग्निं or अग्निमभि शलभाः पतन्ति 'the moths fall in the direction of fire.' So also प्रत्यग्निं or अग्निं प्रति, the sense being, that making the fire their aims (लक्ष्य) they fall towards it.

Why do we say 'when meaning lakshana'? Observe कुम्भं प्रति गतः 'he turned back and went towards Srughna i.e., having turned back he went only towards the direction of Srughna but not to that place itself.

Why do we say the words abhi and prati? Observe येनाग्निस्तेन गतः 'he went in the direction of the fire.'

Why do we say 'when meaning direction towards'? Observe अभ्यङ्गा गावः or प्रत्यङ्गागावः 'the recently marked cows.'

अनुर्यत्समया ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुः, यत्-समया, (स०वि०अ०-स० लक्षणेन) ३

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुर्यस्य समीपवाची तेन लक्षणभूतेन सह विभाषा समस्यते भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

15. The word anu 'near to' is optionally compounded with that word, nearness to which is indicated by the particle, and the resulting compound is Avyayibhāva.

As, अनुवनमशनिर्गतः 'the thunder bolt fell near the forest.'

Why do we say अनु? Observe वनं समया 'near the forest.'

Why do we say 'when compounded with the word, nearness to which is indicated'? Observe वृक्षमनु विद्योतते विशुत् 'it lightens towards the tree.'

Though this compounding was valid even by sūtra 6, because nearness is mentioned there also; it is repeated here in order to show that an Avyayibhāva compound mentioned here is an optional compound after all, and not an invariable compound like others.

यस्य चायामः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, च, आयामः, (स०-अ०वि०स० लक्षणेन अनुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुर्यस्यायामवाची तेन लक्षणभूतेन सह विभाषा समस्यते भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

16. The word *anu* 'alongside of' is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayībhāva*.

As, *अनुगंगं वाराणसी* 'the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges' *अनुयमनं मथुरा* 'Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna, the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna.'

Why do we say 'length'? Observe *वृत्तमनु विद्योतते विद्युत्*.

तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि ;
च (अव्ययीभावस०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठद्गुवाहयः समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते, तिष्ठद्गुप्रभृतीनि शब्दरूपाणि अव्ययी-
भावसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

17. And the words *tishṭhadgu*, 'at the time when the cows stand to be milked,' &c. are *Avyayībhāva* compounds.

The words *तिष्ठद्गु* &c. are all irregularly formed *Avyayībhāva* compounds. Most of these words are epithets of various times. The force of *च* in the *sūtra* is restrictive, that is to say these words always form the *Avyayībhāva* compound and nothing else. They are as follow:—

तिष्ठद्गु, बहद्गु, आयतीगवम्, खल्लेयवम्, खल्लेबुसम्, लूनयवम्, लूयमान-
यवम्, पूतयवम्, पूयमानयवम्, संहृतयवम्, संह्रयमाणयवम्, संहृतबुसम्, संह्रियमाण-
बुत्तम्, समभूमे, समरदाति, सुपवम्, विपवम्, दुष्यवम्, निरुपवम्, अपरत्तवम्, भाव-
त्तीसवम्, प्रहृणम्, प्ररयम्, प्रसृगम्, प्रदक्षिणम्, अपरदक्षिणम्, संप्रति, असंप्रति,
पापसवम्, पुण्यसवम्, इत् कर्मव्यतिहारे V. 4. 127. e. g. कक्षाकचि ॥

पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पारे, मध्ये, षष्ठ्या,
वा (स०अ०वि०८०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पारमध्यशब्दौ षष्ठ्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

18. The words *pāra* 'across,' and *madhya* 'middle' may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the sixth case-affix, when they take the forms *pāre* and *madhye*, and the compound so formed is *Avyayībhāva*.

Ordinarily these words would have formed Possessive *Tatpuruṣa* compounds. The present *sūtra* ordains *Avyayībhāva* instead. The force of

वा in the text is that the Genitive Tatpurusha compounding also takes place in the alternative. As, पारदेशं गङ्गम् or गङ्गापारम् 'across the Ganges.' मध्ये गङ्गम् or गङ्गमध्ये 'middle of the Ganges.'

Of course according to the option allowed by sūtra II. 1. 11., this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase; as पारं गङ्गायाः or मध्ये गङ्गायाः .

संख्या वंशयेन ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या, वंशयेन, (स०वि०अ०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वंशे भवः वंश्यः, तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सह संख्या समस्यते भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

19. A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting 'one belonging to a family' and the resulting compound is Avyayibhāva.

The word वंश means uninterrupted descent of persons from a common source whether through birth or knowledge. A succession of teachers and pupils, of ancestors and descendants &c., would constitute a वंश 'family.' One born in or belonging to such a वंश is called a वंश्य or descendant.

As, द्विमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'of the Vyākaraṇa which has two sages as its principal expounders viz., Pāṇini and Patanjali. So, त्रिमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'having three representatives viz. Pāṇini, Patanjali and Sakatāyana or Kātyāyana.'

When we desire to express their equality as regards knowledge, then both the words are put in the same case: as द्विमुनि or त्रिमुनि व्याकरणम् .

So also when the relationship is by birth: as, एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् Twenty-one Bhāradwājas. These a subsequent compounds are like Dvigu.

नदीभिश्च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ नदीभिः, च, (स०अ०वि०संख्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदीवचनैः शब्दैः सह संख्या समस्यते, भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

20. A numeral (saṅkhyā) may be compounded with names of 'rivers' and the resulting compound is Avyayibhāva denoting an aggregate.

According to Patanjali this refers to their Aggregate (समाहार); as सप्तगङ्गम् 'at the meeting of the seven Ganges,' द्वियमुनं 'at the meeting of the two Yamunās, पंचनदं 'where the five rivers meet,' सप्तगोदावरम् 'where seven Godavaris' meet. See II. 4. 1, 17.

अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यपदार्थे, च, संज्ञायाम्, (स०अ०वि०नदीभिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदीभिः सह सुबन्तमन्यपदार्थे वर्तमानं संज्ञायाम् विषये समस्यते भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

21. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound, and is an appellative; the compound so formed being an *Avyayibhāva*.

The *anuvritti* of the word *saṅkhyā* does not extend to this *sūtra*. Though this rule is given in the subdivision relating to optional compounds, it is, however, a *Nitya-samāsa* rule: for no Name (संज्ञा) can ever be expressed by a sentence, and that being so, these compounds can never be analysed. As, उन्मत्तगङ्गा 'the country called Unmatta Ganges.' So also ज्योहितगङ्गा, कृष्णगङ्गा; शनैर्गङ्गा II. 4. 18.

Why do we say 'when it denotes a thing other than that expressed by the component parts of the compound'? Observe कृष्णवेप 'the river Krishnavepa.'

Why do we say 'when it expresses an Appellative'? Observe शीघ्रगङ्गा देशः 'the country where the Ganges moves rapidly.'

तत्पुरुषः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुष इति संज्ञार्थिक्रियते प्राग्बहुव्रीहे, यानि त ऊर्द्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

22. From this aphorism as far as aphorism II. 2. 23, the word *Tat-purusha* is the governing word, and is understood in all the following *sūtras*.

From this *sūtra* as far as the *sūtra* II. 2. 23 relating to *Bahuvrīhi* compounds, the word *Tat-purusha* should be read into each *sūtra*. This big term is of older coinage than that of *Pāṇini*, being, in fact, made by older grammarians. In the *Tat-purusha* compound, the sense of the last of its elements is the main one, and governs the preceding one. The *Karmadhāraya* (*Appositional Determinative Compound*) and *Dwigu* (*Numeral Determinative Compound*) are also subdivisions of this class of compounds. The rest of this chapter and 22 *sūtras* of the second, deal with this.

द्विगुश्च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगुः, च, (तत्पुरुषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुश्च समासस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञो भवति ॥

23. And the kind of compound called *Dwigu* (*Numeral Determinative Compound*) is also called *Tat-purusha*.

The object of making Dwigu a subdivision of Tat-purusha Compound is that the समासान्त affixes and rules given in V. 4. 68-160 should apply to Dwigu also. Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this sūtra; as sūtra 52 of this chapter already defines Dwigu. Thus पंचराज V. 4. 91 fem. पंचराजो (IV. I. 15, 21), 'an aggregate of 5 princes' द्वयः 'V. 4. 89, पंचगवन् 'an aggregate of 5 cows.' दशगवन् 'an aggregate of ten cows.' V. 4. 92.

द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥
द्वितीया श्रित-अतीत-पतित-गत-अत्यस्त-प्राप्त-आपन्नैः, (सुसुपा०स०वि०सह-
तत्पुरुष) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्तं सुबन्तं श्रितादिभिः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रितादिपुगमिगम्यादीनां मुरसंख्यानम् ॥

24. A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words śrita 'who has had recourse to,' atīta 'gone by' patīta 'who has fallen upon,' gata 'who has gone to' atyasta 'who has passed,' prāpta 'who has obtained,' and āpanna 'who has reached,' and the resulting compound is called Tat-puruṣha.

As कष्ट + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः 'who has had recourse to trouble.' नरकश्रितः, So also:—कान्तारातीतः 'who has passed over the dreary forest.' नरकपतितः 'fallen into hell.' ग्रामगतः 'gone to village.' तरंगारवस्तः 'passed the waves.' सुखप्राप्तः 'who has reached pleasure.' सुखान्तः 'who has obtained happiness.'

Vart:—The words गमी, गामी &c. should also be included. As ग्रामगमी, ग्रामगामी; अदीप्त बुभुक्षुः.

स्वयं क्तेन ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वयम्, क्तेन, (स०वि०त०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वयमित्येतत्सुबन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

25. The indeclinable word swayam 'oneself,' is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is called Tat-puruṣha.

The anuvritti of the word द्वितीया from the last aphorism into this, cannot take place; though, however, it is understood in the next sūtra. The word स्वयम् being an Indeclinable, cannot take any case-affix. As स्वयं धीतो वदो 'feet washed by himself' स्वयं विज्ञीनमाज्यम्.

In this compounding, the two words do not appear to have undergone any change after their composition. They are the same as they were before the composition. But by calling their juxtaposition, 'a compound,'

two indirect advantages are gained. Namely these two words are regarded as one word, and their accent is also similarly regulated. See Rule VI. I. 223.

The words ending in kta which is a Nishṭhā. affix, are past participles.

खट्वा क्षेपे ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ खट्वा, क्षेपे, (सञ्चितञ्जनसञ्ज)
(द्वितीयया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खट्वाशब्दो द्वितीयान्तः क्तान्तेन सह क्षेपे गम्यमाने समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

26. The word khatwā in the accusative case is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, when censure is implied, and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

The word क्षेप means 'censure,' 'blame' and this sense can be connoted only by the compound word as a whole and not by any of its constituent elements. This compound is also, therefore, a Nitya Compound, though it occurs in the subdivision relating to Optional Compounds:—because it is impossible to analyse such a compound and express, by means of a sentence, the sense conveyed by the function of the compound word.

As खट्वाकृतः or खट्वाश्रुतः (literally lying on a bed); silly, stupid, going wrong or astray.

There is no compounding when 'censure is not meant. As खट्वाकृतः 'lying on a bed.'

Why this word should have this opprobrious meaning, will be understood from the consideration of the following facts:—a person under the Aryan social polity, could only then enter the married state or the life of a house-holder, as it was called, when he had completed his Brahmachārya i.e. the prescribed period of bachelor studentship. All Brahmacharis were bound to sleep on ground and not on खट्वा or cots, so long as they were Brahmachāris. A person who without completing his studies, and without obtaining the permission of his teacher, entered into matrimony, was originally called, in reproach, खट्वाकृतः 'who had ascended the couch in an improper way.' Then the term was extended to all persons guilty of vile action.

शानि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शानि, (सञ्चितञ्जनसह क्तान्तेन)
(द्वितीयया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शानीत्येतद्दृश्यमानञ्च शब्दपर्यायस्तस्य सन्ववा. चित्वाद् द्वितीयया नास्ति संबन्धः तत्पुरुषान्तः क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

27. The indeclinable word *sāmi* meaning 'half' is compounded with a word ending in the affix *hta*, and the resulting compound is *Tat-purusha*.

The word *सामि* being an *avyaya*, and not denoting any substance, cannot take the affixes of the second or any case. Therefore the *anuvṛitti* of the word *द्वितीया* would be inapposite in this aphorism.

As *सामिकृतम्* 'half-done,' *सामिनीतम्* 'half-drunk' *सामिभुक्तम्* 'half-eaten.'

The object attained by this *saṁāsa* is the same as in II. 1. 25, namely making them one word and taking one accent.

कालाः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालाः, (सर्वित्तसर्वद्वितीययाक्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः शब्दा द्वितीयान्ताः कान्तेन सह समस्यन्ते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

28. The words denoting time, being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in the affix *hta*, and the resulting compound is *Tat-purusha*.

This rule applies when duration of time is not connoted by the compound, which is provided for, in the next aphorism. The word *काला* does not mean here, as it would otherwise mean by *Sūtra* I. 1. 68, the word-form *काल* but special words denoting *काल*.

As *मासप्रमितश्चन्द्रमा*: 'the new moon,' (literally, the moon that has begun to measure the month). Similarly *अहस्संक्रान्ताः*, *रातिसंक्रान्ताः*: applied to six *Muhurtas* (of 48 minutes each) which are called *अह* and *अश्वर* which sometimes occur in day time (in the summer month) and sometimes in the night (in the winter).

अत्यन्तसंयोगे च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्यन्त-संयोगे, च, (सर्वित्तसर्वकालाः सुपा द्वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः शब्दा द्वितीयान्ता अत्यन्तसंयोगे गम्यमाने सुपा सह समस्यन्ते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

29. Words denoting time being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when used in the sense of complete connection throughout with the time (i.e., duration of time) and the resulting compound is called *Tat-purusha*.

The word काल is understood in this aphorism; but not so the phrase 'ending with the affix क्.'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग means 'uninterrupted connection.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

As मुहूर्तसुखम् 'a momentary pleasure.' सर्वराजकल्याणी, सर्वराजशोभना.

तृतीया तद्गुणार्थेन गुणवचनेन ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, तत्-
कृत-अर्थेन, गुण-वचनेन, (स०वि०त०सु०हु०पा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयान्तं सुवन्तं गुणवचनेन अर्थवचनेन च सह समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

30. A word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes quality, the quality being that which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the third case-affix and with the word artha 'wealth,' and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुष, सुना are understood here: and the whole of this sūtra is an epithet of those words. A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with a word expressing quality, and with the word अर्थः provided that the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case. As शङ्कुनाखण्डः शङ्कुनाखण्डः 'cut by nipper' किरिकाणः 'made blind of one eye by a hog' धान्यार्थः 'wealth acquired by grain.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

Why do we say 'when caused by the word in the instrumental case?' Observe अक्षा काणः 'blind of one eye.' Here अक्षा in the 3rd case is not the instrumental cause that produced blindness and hence no compounding.

Why do we say 'a word expressing quality?' Observe:—गोभिर्निपावान् 'sowing with the cows.' Here though 'sowing' is instrumentally caused by the cows, yet it does not qualify cows but the sower, and hence no compounding.

Guṇa-vachanas are those words which, not being words formed by primary or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of saṅkhyā, or sarvanāma, or jāti, or compound words, are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives.

पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकलहनिपुणनिम्नश्लक्ष्णैः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥

पूर्व-सदृश-सम-ऊनार्थ-कलह-निपुण-निम्न-श्लक्ष्णैः, (स०वि०त०तृतीयास०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व सदृश सम ऊनार्थ कलह निपुण निम्न श्लक्ष्ण एतैः सह तृतीयान्तं समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पूर्वोद्दिष्टवत्स्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

31. A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words *pūrvā* 'prior,' *sadrīṣā* 'like,' *sama* 'similar,' *ūnārtha* 'words having the sense of less,' *kalaha* 'quarrel,' *nipuṇa* 'proficient,' *miśra* 'mixed,' and *slakṣhṇā* 'polished sleek' and the resulting compound is called *Tat-purusha*.

From this *sūtra*, we learn incidentally that the words पूर्व &c., govern the instrumental case.

As, मासेन पूर्वः = मासपूर्व 'prior by a month,' संवत्सरपूर्वः 'prior by a year,' मातृसदृशः 'like the mother,' पितृसदृशः 'like the father,' मातृसमः 'similar to the mother,' पितृसमः 'similar to the father,' माषोन्म, माषविकलं 'less by a māshā,' भस्त्रिकलहः 'a fight with the swords,' वाक्यलहः 'bandying words.' वाङ्निपुणः 'proficient in speech,' आचार निपुणः 'proficient in the observances of sacred duties,' तिलमिश्रः—गुडमिश्रः 'mixed with sesamum or juggery' आचारस्लक्ष्यः 'polished in behaviour.'

Vart :—The word अपर should be enumerated in the list, as मासापरः 'later than a month.'

कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-करणे ; कृता बहुलम् , (संविद्यतस्मृती०६०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृ करणे च या द्वितीया तदन्तं कृदन्तेन सह समस्यते बहुलं , तस्यैव च समासो भवति ॥

32. A word ending with the third case-affix, when it denotes the agent or the instrument (II. 3. 18) is compounded diversely with what ends with a *krit* affix; and the compound so formed is called *Tat-purusha*.

The word बहुलं shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules and conditions. As *अहिनाहतः* = *अहिनः* 'killed by the snake' *नखनिर्भिजः* 'divided by the nails.' *परशुच्छिन्नः* 'cut by the axe.'

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent or the instrument'? Observe *निष्ठाभिरुचिः* 'dwelt with alms.' Here the force of the 3rd case is that mentioned in *sūtra* II. 3. 21 and not that of II. 3. 18.'

Why do we say 'diversely'? Observe *दात्रेण जूनवान्* 'cutting with the sickle.' *परशुनाच्छिन्नवान्* 'cutting with the axe.' Here there is no compounding. But there is compounding where otherwise there ought not to be, because of the word बहुलः—as *पादहारकः* and *गन्ने शीपकः*.

कृत्यैरधिकार्थवचने ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यैः, अधिक-अर्थ-वचने,
(स०वि०त०कृ०करणेत्०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृकरणयोर्या द्वितीया तदन्तं सुबन्तं कृत्यैः सह समस्यते अधिकार्थवचने
गम्यमाने विभाषा, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृत्यग्रहणे यत्प्यलोर्महणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

33. A word ending with the third case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded optionally with a word ending in a *kritya* affix, when an exaggerated statement (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

As काकपेयानदी 'a shallow river' (so shallow that a crow may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink). श्वलेह्यः कुः 'a shallow well' (so that a dog can lick water from the brink of it). वाष्पच्छेयानि दृणानि 'thin grass' (so fragile that it can be cut by vapour) कण्टकसंचेव भोरनः.

This sūtra is in a way a prolongation of the last.

Vart:—The phrase 'words ending in a *kritya* affix' must not be taken universally, only the *kritya* affixes यत् and एयत् are meant in the above sūtras. The following are the *kritya* affixes:—तस्य, अनीय, यत्, वयप्, एयत्, (see sūtra III. I. 95-132). Therefore there is no compounding when the word ends in तस्य as in काकैः पातव्या.

अन्नेन व्यञ्जनम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नेन, व्यञ्जनम्, (स०वि०त०
नृ०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यञ्जनवाचि द्वितीयान्तप्रवाचिना सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते विभाषा, तत्पुरुषश्च
समासो भवति ॥

34. A word ending with the third case-affix and denoting a condiment, is optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, signifying food, and the resulting compound is called *Tat-purusha*.

That which is to be prepared is called *अन्न*, and that which prepares is *व्यञ्जन*; as दध्नीदनः = दध्ना उपसिक्त ओदनः 'rice prepared or made relishable with curd.' So also क्षीरीदनः. The words 'food' and 'condiment' as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood.

भक्ष्येण निम्नीकरणम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्ष्येण , निम्नी-करणम्
(स०वि०त०तृ०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निम्नीकरणवाचि द्वतीयान्तं भक्ष्यवाचिना सुरन्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

35. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a relish giving or refining ingredient, is compounded with a word meaning, victuals, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called भक्ष्य; its refinement is called निम्नीकरणं. As गुडधानाः 'barley prepared with juggery,' गुडप्लुकाः 'flattened parched rice prepared with juggery.'

The connection here also between the two words is established by a verb understood.

चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी ,
तदर्थ-अर्थ-बलि-हित-सुख-रक्षितैः (स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदर्थं अर्थं बलि हित सुख रक्षित इत्येतेः सह चतुर्थ्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अर्थेन निरत्यसमासवचनं सर्वलिङ्गता च वक्तव्या ॥

36. A word ending with the 4th case-affix is compounded with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix and so too with the words artha 'on account of,' bali 'a sacrifice,' hita 'salutary,' sukha 'pleasure' and rakshita 'kept,' and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुप , सुपा are understood in this sūtra : and the whole sūtra qualifies these words.

By the expression तदर्थं 'for the purpose thereof,' the special relation of a material and its modification alone is by Patanjali here held to be intended. As यूपाय दाहः = यूपदाहः 'wood for stake' (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake). कुण्डलहिरण्यं 'gold for ear-ring.' But not so here. रन्धनाय स्याली 'pot for cooking.' अक्वहननायोन्मूलनम् 'the wood mortar for threshing. From this sūtra we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of 'for the purpose thereof.' The word तदर्थार्थं is taken as one word by some, meaning 'a thing serviceable thereto.' See VI. 2. 44. For accent see VI. 2. 45.

Vart:—With the word चर्ध the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies; as, ब्राह्मणार्थम् पत्रः 'milk for the sake of Brahmans;' and ब्राह्मणार्था यवाणुः 'gruel for the Brahmans.' So also कुवेरबलिः 'a sacrifice for Kuvera' महाराजबलिः 'a sacrifice for the great Raja.' गौहितं 'what is good for cows.' भद्रहितं 'what is good for horses' गौवुखं 'what is pleasant for cows' गौरक्षितं 'what is kept for cows,' (as grass).

पञ्चमी भयेन ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, भयेन, (स०त०वि०सु० सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यन्तं सुबन्तं भयशब्देन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भय भीत भीति भीति रिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

37. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word bhaya 'fear,' and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुप् सुपा is understood here, and the sūtra qualifies it.

As वृकोभ्योभयं = वृकभयं 'fear from wolves' चोरभयं 'fear from thieves' दस्युभयं 'fear from robbers.'

Vart:—So also with the words भीत, भीति and भीः as वृकभीतः, वृकभीतिः, वृकभीः.

This sūtra is an expansion of sūtra 32 and an exposition of the word बहुल there. So that we may have the following compounds also: ग्रामनिर्गतः 'gone out of the village.' अघ्नं जगुप्सुः.

अपेतापोढमुक्तपतितापत्रस्तैरल्पशः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपेत-
अपोढ-मुक्त-पतित-अपत्रस्तैः, अल्पशः, (स०वि०त०सु०पञ्चमीस०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भयेन अपोढ मुक्त पतित अपत्रस्त इत्येतेः सह पञ्चम्यन्तं समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥ अल्पश इति समासस्याल्पविषयताभाष्ये ॥

38. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is compounded with the words apeta 'gone away,' apodha 'carried away,' mukta 'freed,' patita 'fallen,' apatrasta, 'afraid of,' when the event takes place in a gradual manner, and the compound is called Tatpurusha.

As, सुखापेतः 'gone away from pleasure' कल्पनापोढः 'carried away by imagination' चक्रमुक्तः 'freed from the wheel.' स्वर्गपतितः 'fallen from heaven.' तरङ्गापत्रस्तः 'afraid of the waves.' This is an expansion of II. 1. 32.

By using the word अल्पशः 'in a gradual degree,' is shown the limited range of this kind of compounds. Not every ablative word can be so compounded. Hence there is no compounding at all in the following cases:—
 प्रासादात् पतितः, 'fallen from the mansion. भोजनात्पन्नस्तः 'afraid of eating.' For here the fall &c. is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight.

स्तोकान्तिकदूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि क्तेन, ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तोक-
 अन्तिक-दूर-अर्थ-कृच्छ्राणि, क्तेन, (सततविस्मृत्पञ्चमीसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोक अन्तिक दूर इत्येवमर्थाः शब्दाः कृच्छ्र शब्दश्च पञ्चम्यन्ताः कान्तेन सह समस्यन्ते, तरुणपथ समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शतसहस्रौ परेणेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

39. Words with the sense of stoka 'a little,' antika 'near,' dūra 'far,' and also the word kricchrahra 'penance,' ending in the 5th case-affix are compounded with what ends in kta, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As स्तोकान् मुक्तः 'loosed from a little distance.'

So also अन्तिकादागतः 'come from near' अन्तिकादागतः 'come from near' दूरादागतः 'come from far,' विप्रकृष्टादागतः 'come from a distance.' कृच्छ्रान्मुक्तः 'saved with difficulty.' कृच्छ्रान् लब्धः 'obtained with difficulty.'

By rule VI. 3. 2 the case-affix is not elided in compounds of this kind.

Vart:—The words शत 'a hundred' and सहस्र 'a thousand' are similarly compounded with the word पर. As, शतात्परे परशतः 'beyond a hundred.' So also परसहस्रत्राः 'beyond a thousand.' In these examples the word शत and सहस्र being exhibited in the 1st case and thus being upasarjana ought to have stood as the first member of the compound (II. 2. 30); But these compounds are supposed to fall under the class of राजदन्त &c., (II. 2. 31) and hence the upasarjana stands as the second member of the compound. Irregularly is also the augment स (सु) interposed between these two words.

सप्तमी शीषडैः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, शीषडैः (सतत-
 विस्मृत्पञ्चमीसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं शीषडादिभिः सह समस्यते तरुणपथ समासो भवति ॥

40. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words śaundā 'skilled' &c. and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word **शौण्डेः** in the sūtra being in the plural number indicates a class of words beginning with **saundā**.

As, **अक्षेपु शौण्डः** = **अभशौण्डः** 'skilled in dice' **अक्षधूर्तः** 'cunning in dice' **असक्तितवः** 'a gamester in dice.'

The following is the list of शौण्डादि words:—1 शौण्ड, 2 धूर्त, 3 कितव, 4 व्याड, 5 प्रवीण, 6 संवीत, 7 अन्तर when meaning place, 8 अधि, 9 पट्ट, (or अधिपट्ट), 10 पण्डित, 11 कुशल, 12 चपल, 13 निपुण, 14 संव्याड' 15 मन्त्र, and 16 समीर.

सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धैश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिद्ध-शुष्क-पक्व-बन्धैः, च, (संततविंसप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिद्ध-शुष्क-पक्व बन्धै इत्येतेः सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

41. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words **siddha** 'perfected,' **śushka** 'dried,' **pakva** 'cooked' and **bandha** 'bound,' and the resulting compound is **Tat-purusha**.

× As, **सांकार्यसिद्धः** 'perfect in Sānkāśya,' **काम्पिन्यसिद्धः** 'perfect in Kāmpilya,' **आतपशुष्कः** 'dried in the sun,' **छायाशुष्कः** 'dried in the shade,' **स्थालीपक्वः** 'cooked in pot,' **कुम्भी पक्वः** 'cooked in an earthen jar,' **चक्रबन्धः** 'bound on the wheel. For their accent see VI. 2. 32.

These are also further illustrations of the word **बहुल** in sūtra 32.

ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे, (संततविंश-सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्वाङ्क्षवाचिना सह सप्तम्यन्तं सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति, क्षेपे गन्धमाने ॥

42. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the word **dhvāṅksha**, 'a crow,' (and with synonyms of crow) when contempt is implied; and the resulting compound is **Tat-purusha**.

As, **तीर्थध्वान्तः** 'a crow at the sacred bathing place' *i.e.*, a very greedy person; as a crow in a bathing place does not remain long, any where, so a person who goes to his teacher's house and does not tarry there long, is called a **तीर्थकाकः** or a **तीर्थबाबसः**.

When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding: as, **तीर्थध्वान्त-स्तिष्ठति** 'There is a crow in the sacred bathing place.'

कृत्यैर्ऋणे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यैः, ऋणे, (संतत-सुसप्तसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य प्रत्ययान्तेः सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

43. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with a kṛitya-affix (a fut. pass. Participle) and the resulting compound is 'Tat-purusha, when 'debt' is implied.

This compound is confined to the words formed by the kṛitya affix च्त् and not to every kṛitya-formed word.

As, मासदेयं 'a debt repayable within a month.' So संवत्सरदेयं 'payable within a year.' त्र्यहृदेयम् 'repayable within three days.'

By using the word कृण्वे we indicate by implication any appointed time in general, and not merely a time for the payment of a debt. Therefore we get compounds in the following cases also:—पूर्वाह्णे गेयं साम 'the Sāma that should be sung in the morning.' प्रातरग्नेयोरनुवाकः 'the chapter that should be studied in the morning.'

Why do we say 'debt'? Observe मासे देया भिक्षा 'the alms that should be given each month.'

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (स०त०वि०म०स०मी
सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये सम्यन्तं सुपा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

44 A word ending with the 7th case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when the compound thus formed is used as an appellative, and is called Tat-purusha samāsa.

A sanjñā is expressed by the complete word, hence it is an invariable (nitya) compound; for we cannot express an appellative by a sentence.

As, अरण्ये तिलकाः 'wild sesamum' yielding no oil; anything which does not answer to one's expectation. So also अरण्येभाषाः, वने किंचुकाः 'anything found unexpectedly.' So also वनेबिल्वकाः, कूपेपिशाचकाः.

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance to sūtra VI. 3. 9. (The 7th case-affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short अ when the compound denotes appellative.)

क्तेनाहोरात्रावयवाः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, अहः-रात्र-अवयवाः,
(स०वि०त०स०स०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहरवयवा रात्रवयवाश्च समस्यन्ताः क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

45. The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix kta; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वाह्नकृतम् 'done in the morning.' अपराह्नकृतम् 'done in the afternoon.' पूर्वारात्रकृतम् 'done in the first part of the night.' अपरारात्रकृतम् 'done in the last part of the night.'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe अहनि भुक्तम् 'eaten in the day' रात्रौ वृत्तम् 'occurring in the night.'

This being a continuation of sūtra II. 1. 32, we have diversely रात्रिवृत्तं and संघाणजितं .

तत्र ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र , (स०वि०त०सप्त०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येतत् सप्तम्यन्तं क्त्वात्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

46. The word tatra 'there,' which is a word ending with the 7th case-affix, (V. 3. 10) is compounded with a word ending in kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus तत्रभुक्तम् 'eaten there.' तत्रकृतम् 'done there.' तत्रपीतम् 'drunk there.' By making this a compound, the same purpose is served as in sūtra II. 1. 25 namely, these two words form one word and get one accent.

क्षेपे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेपे , (स०वि०त०सप्त०सह क्त्वेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेपे गम्यमाने सप्तम्यन्तं क्त्वात्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

47. A word ending with a 7th case-affix is compounded with a word ending with the affix kta, when 'censure' is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, अत्रतरेनकुजस्थितं त एतत् 'they are as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man) चापलम् ॥

So also उदके विशीर्षम् 'dried in water,' (figuratively used for any thing unheard of or impossible.)

So also प्रवाहे मूत्रितम् (lit.) 'making water in a stream,' (fig.) 'doing a useless action.' भस्मनि हुतम् 'offered oblation in ashes,' (fig.) 'a fruitless action.'

The 7th case-affix is not elided in the case of this sūtra also. See sūtra VI. 3. 14.

पात्रेसंमितादयश्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पात्रे ; संमित-आदयः , च,
(स०त०क्षेपे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदाया एव निवारयन्ते, पात्रेसंमितादयः शब्दास्तत्पुरुष संज्ञा भवन्ति क्षेपे गन्धकार्ये ॥

48. The words like pâtre-sammīta 'a dish-companion' (a parasite), &c., are Tat-purusha compounds, when contempt is implied.

All these are irregular compounds. Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (क्त); they could have been formed by previous aphorism also. Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have udatta on the beginning; because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called 'युक्तारोप्यादि Class' treated of in sūtra VI. 2. 81.

The following is the list of the words:—1 पात्रेसमिताः, 2 पात्रेवहृत्प्रः 'a parasite' (constant at meals or dinner time). 3 उदुम्बरमशकः, 4 उदुम्बरकृमिः, 5 उदरकृमिः, 6 कूपकच्छपः, 7 श्वदकच्छपः, 8 कूपमण्डकः, 9 कुम्भमण्डकः, 10 उदपानमण्डकः, 11 नगरकाकः, 12 नगरवायसः, 13 मातरिपुरुषः, 14 पिण्डीगूरः, 15 पितरिशूरः, 16 गेहेशूरः, 17 गेहेनर्हीः, 18 गेहेद्वेडी, 19 गेहेविजिती, 20 गेहेव्याहः, 21 गेहेमेही, 22 गेहेशाली, 23 गेहेदृषः, 24 गेहेधृष्टः, 25 गर्भेदृषः, 26 आसनिरुषकः, 27 गोष्ठेगूरः, 28 गोष्ठेविजिती, 29 गोष्ठेद्वेडी, 30 गोष्ठेपट्टः, 31 गोष्ठेपण्डितः, 32 गोष्ठेपगन्धः, 33 कर्णेजिरिट्टि, 34 कर्णेधुरुचुरा ॥

पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन ॥ ४९ ॥

पदानि ॥ पूर्वकाल-एक-सर्व-जरत्-पुराण-नव-केवलाः समानाधिकरणेन,
(ह०वि०त०सु०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वकाल एक सर्व जरत् पुराण नव केवला इत्येते सुबन्ताः समानाधिकरणेन सुधा सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

49. A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (pūrvakāla), and the words eka 'one,' sarva 'all,' jarat 'old,' purāṇa 'ancient,' nava 'new,' and kevala 'only,' are compounded with their co-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them; and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुर सुधा is understood here, the whole sūtra qualifying it.

Words which separately can be applied to many distinct and different objects, when they apply to one common object, are said to be in apposition (समानाधिकरणं) or abiding in a common substratum.

In the present sūtra the word-form pūrvakāla is not to be taken

(I. 1. 68) but its significates; while of the rest एक &c., the very word-form is to be taken. A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it. As, स्नानान्निवः 'bathed and perfumed,' कृत्समीकृतम् 'ploughed and levelled,' बन्धमरुद्धम् 'burnt and healed,' एकघाटी (having) one petticoat,' एकभिक्षा (begging) once in a day,' सर्वेशाः 'All gods,' सर्वमनुष्याः 'all men,' जरद्धस्ती 'old elephant,' जरद्ध गृष्टिः 'an old cow,' जरद्धवृत्तिः 'old occupation,' पुराणान्नम् 'old rice,' पुराणान्नसथम् 'an old habitation.' So नवान्नम्; नवान्नसथम्; केवलान्नम् 'only rice.'

Why do we say 'when they are in the same case?' Observe एकस्याः घाटी 'one's petticoat.'

These and the subsequent compounds are Karmadhāraya Compounds (I. 2. 42).

दिक्कसंख्ये संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-संख्ये, संज्ञायाम् ;
(स०त०वि०सुपा०समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्वाचिनः शब्दाः संख्या च समानाधिकरणेन सुवन्तेन सह समस्यन्ते, तत्सु रूपश्च समासो भवति ॥

50. The words expressing a point of the compass, or a number (saṅkhyā) enter into composition with the word correlated to them by being in the same case, when the sense of the compound is that of an appellative; and it is a Tat-purusha.

The phrase 'being in apposition,' is understood in every one of these sūtras up to the end of the chapter.

As पूर्वेषु कामशमी 'the town of Ishukāmasāmi-in-the-east,' अपरेषु कामशमी 'the town of Ishukāmasāmi-in-the-west,' पंचाम्नाः 'the five mangoes' सप्तर्षवः 'the seven-sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear).

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of an appellative?' Observe उत्तरा वृक्षाः 'northern trees,' पंच ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brahmanas.' See IV. 2. 107.

तद्वितार्थोत्तरपद समाहारे च ॥५१॥ पदानि ॥ तद्वित-अर्थ-उत्तरपद
समाहारे, च (स०त०वि०दिक्कसंख्येस०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वितार्थे विषये उत्तरपदे च परतः समाहारे चाभिधेये दिक्कसंख्ये समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्यन्ते, तत्सु रूपश्च समासो भवति ॥

51. In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be ex-

pressed, then a word signifying a point of the compass or a number, enters into composition with a case-inflected word which is in agreement with it by being in the same case, and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix. Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पूर्वस्था शालाया भवः 'that which is in the eastern hall' (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word भव (IV. 2. 107) serves to represent the force of a Taddhita-affix) the compound having reached the form of पूर्वा + शाला, the feminine termination of the पूर्वा is rejected, because Patañjali declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word; we have:—पूर्व + शाला + भव (IV. 2. 107) = पूर्वशालः (VII. 2. 117 and VI. 4. 148) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttar-pade). As, पूर्वशालाप्रियः or अपरशालाप्रियः 'loving the eastern or western hall.' These Uttarpada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements.

When a समाहार 'aggregate' is to be expressed, it is of course impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (दिक् words). The following compounds are formed with numbers (संख्या), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix; as, पञ्चनावितिः 'relating to five barbers.' पञ्चक्रपालः 'relating to an oblation offered in five cups' (क्रपाल) (IV. 1. 88). So also पञ्चगवधन (V. 4. 92) 'whose wealth consists of five cows,' शृगवधनः

The following are examples of aggregates:—पञ्चफली 'the collection of five fruits' (IV. 1. 21) दशपुली 'an aggregate of ten bundles,' त्रिलोकी 'the aggregate of the three worlds.' पञ्चकुमारि 'an aggregate of five virgins; this word is neuter by II. 4 17. and the long ई is shortened by I. 2. 47.

संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या-पूर्वः, द्विगुः, (सञ्चित-तद्वितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे चेत्यत्र यः संख्यापूर्वः समासः स द्विगुसंज्ञो भवति ॥

52. In a case where the sense is that of a taddhita affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound or when an aggregate is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or Numeral Determinative compound.

First to take an example of Taddhitārtha:—as, पंचेषु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पंचकपालः 'an offering prepared or offered in five cups.' So also दशकपालः 'prepared in ten cups.' These are names of Purodāsa offerings; and are formed by adding the affix भृच् in the sense of 'refining an object of food' by sūtra IV. 2. 16; then this affix is elided (लुक्) by IV. 1, 88.

To take an example when an additional member comes after the compound. As पंचनावयिषः 'loving five ships.' द्विनावरुप्यम् 'money which has come by two ships' (द्वि + नौ + इच् V. 4. 99 = द्विनाव)

Of an aggregate we have पंचपुत्री. The feminine is formed by IV. 1. 21.

कुट्सितानि कुत्सनैः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुट्सितानि कुत्सनैः ,
(स०वि०त०सु०सह०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सितवाचीनि सुवन्तानि कुत्सनवचनैः सुवन्तै. सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुंसश्च समासो भवति ॥

^{is found fault} 53. Case-inflected words expressing vileness are compounded with case-inflected words, expressing contempt, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As वैयाकरणखसृचि; 'a bad or dull grammarian.' Here it might be asked is the word व्याकरण 'grammar' a word of contempt, or the word वैयाकरण 'grammarian'? Neither 'Grammar' (it being a part of Vedānga,) nor the person who studies it *i. e.*, the grammarian, can be an object of contempt ordinarily.

The word 'grammarian' is, however, the expression of contempt in an indirect way, thus :—The person studying grammar but not studying it well, becomes an object of contempt and such a despicable person becomes also contaminated. The word खसृचि is a term of contempt *per se*. It literally means, a person who on being asked a question, and not possessing ready wit and intelligence to answer it, scratches his head and contemplates vacancy (खसृचयति) and tries to divert the questioner's attention by exclaiming 'how beautifully clear is the sky,' such a person is called खसृचि: .

Such compounds are confined to cases where the reason for the use of any particular term is to express contempt with regard to the signification of that term. So we can not form a compound of the sentence वैयाकरणधोरः 'the thief grammarian;' for, contempt is not expressed with regard to the signification of the word 'grammarian.' But when the term 'grammarian' itself is used in a contemptuous signification, then a compound will be formed.

This aphorism is commenced in order to introduce an exception to sūtra 57, by which an adjective stands as the first member in a compound. By the present sūtra, however, the attributive word will stand as the second member.

Other examples of such compounds are: याज्ञिककितवः 'one who hankers after performing sacrifices for persons for whom one ought not to perform sacrifices' मीमांसक-दुर्वृत्तः 'an unbelieving logician,' 'an athiest.'

No compound can be formed under this aphorism, if both the words are not used in an opprobatory signification as such. Therefore it is not in the following case. कुत्सितोत्राणः 'the bad Brâhmaṇa' &c.

पापाणके कुत्सितैः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाप-अणके , कुत्सितैः ,
(स०त०वि०सु०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाप अणक एते सुबन्ते कुत्सितवचनैः सह समस्येते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

54. The case inflected words pāpa 'sin,' and aṇaka 'insignificant,' are compounded with words expressive of vileness, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Both the words पाप and अणक are words of contempt (कुत्सन) ; by the last sūtra, they would have stood as second members in the compound; the present sūtra, however, is so framed with regard to sūtras I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30, that they will stand as first. As पापनापितः or अणकनापितः 'a contemptible barber' पाप or अणक-कुत्सालः 'a contemptible potter.'

उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानानि , सामान्य-
वचनैः , (स०त०वि०सु०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानवाचीनि सुबन्तानि सामान्यवचनैः सुबन्तैः सह समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

55. Case-inflected words denoting objects of comparison, are compounded with words denoting what is likened to them, by reason of the latter possessing qualities in common with the former, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

That by or to which a thing is compared is 'upamāna' and the 'upameya' (the thing compared) is called सामान्य or 'common.' Thus घनश्याम कृष्णः 'cloud-black Krishna' (Krishna black as a cloud). Here श्याम is a quality common to Krishna and cloud: therefore 'cloud' which is the उपमान is compounded with it. So also कुमुदश्येनी 'lily-white.' हंसगन्ध 'Swan-sounding' श्वमोघ-पारिमंडला 'globular as Nyagrodha tree.' For accent see VI. 2. 2.

But not so in देवदत्ता श्यामा 'black Devadatta' or फला इव तन्दुव्याः 'the rice are like fruits' पर्वता इव बलाहकाः 'clouds like mountains.'

उपमितं व्याघ्रः।दिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमितम्,
व्याघ्र-आदिभिः, सामान्य-अप्रयोगे, (स०त०वि०सु०स०उपमानानिस०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमेयमुपमितं तद्वत्त्वि सुबन्तं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामर्थ्याद् उपमानवचनेः सह समत्वते,
तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति, न चेत्सामान्यवत्त्वि चन्दः प्रयुज्यते ॥

56. A case-inflected word denoting subject of comparison is compounded with the words vyâghra 'tiger,' &c., the latter being the standard of comparison, and in construction with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha; provided that any word expressing the common characteristic (सामान्य) as explained above, is not employed.

This is a modification of sūtra 57, by which the objective would have stood first; by the present, the attribute stands second. As पुरुषोऽयं व्याघ्र इव = पुरुषव्याघ्रः 'a person-tiger' (in strength) पुरुषसिंहः

In the last sūtra, the compounding was between the उपमान and the common quality. In the present, the compounding is between the उपमित and certain उपमान but never with सामान्य वचन. Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence:— पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव दूरः 'a man strong as a tiger.' Similarly मुखरमम्, मुखकमलं, करकिसलयम्, पार्थिवचन्द्रम् ॥

The words व्याघ्र &c. are भाक्तुतिगजः *i. e.*, this is a class of compound words, the fact of a word belonging to which, is known by its form, a posteriori and is not discoverable by any consideration of its constituent parts a priori.

The following is the list of such words:—

1. व्याघ्र = A tiger.
2. सिंह = A lion.
3. शरत्त = A bear.
4. शरभ = A bull.
5. चन्दन = Sandal.
6. वृक = A wolf.
7. वृष = A bull.
8. वराह = A boar, hog.
9. हस्तिन् = An elephant.
10. वरु = A tree.
11. कुञ्जर = An elephant.
12. हरु = A kind of deer.
13. पुषत = The spotted antelope.
14. पुण्डरीक = A lotus flower.
15. पलाश = A tree Butea Frondosa.
16. कितव = A rogue, cheat.

भाक्तुतिगणोऽयम्

1. मुखरमम् } A lotus-like face.
2. मुखकमलम् }
3. करकिसलयम् = Sprout-like hand, a tender hand.
4. पार्थिवचन्द्रः .

विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशेषणम्, विशेष्येण, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशेषणवाचि सुबन्तं विशेष्यवाचिना समानाधिकरणेन सुबन्तेन सह बहुलं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

57. A case-inflected word denoting the qualifier (the Adjective), is compounded diversely with a case-inflected word denoting the thing thereby qualified, (the Substantive) the latter being in agreement (same case) with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेष्य as नीलोत्पलं 'a blue lotus,' रक्तोत्पलं 'a red lotus.'

By using in the rule the expression बहुलं 'diversely' it is meant that in some cases it is imperative to make a compound (निरस्यसमास) as कृष्णसर्पः 'a black snake.' लोहितशालिः 'red rice':—and sometimes it is forbidden; as, रामो जामदग्न्यः 'Rama called also Jāmadagnya' (as being the son of Jamadagni): अर्जुनः कालीवीर्यः—and in some cases it is optional, नीलपुत्रञ्जं or नीलोत्पलं.

Why do we say 'qualifier?' Observe तक्षकः सर्पः 'the Takshaka snake.'

Why do we say 'qualified.' Observe लोहितस्तक्षकः 'the red Takshaka.'

पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमध्यमवीराश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥

पूर्व-अपर-प्रथम-चरम-जघन्य-समान-मध्य-मध्यम-वीराः, च (स०त०वि०सु०स० समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व अपर प्रथम चरम जघन्य समान मध्य मध्यम वीर इत्येते सुबन्ताः समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

58. The case-inflected words pūrva 'prior,' अपरा 'other,' prathama 'first,' charama 'last,' jaghanya 'hindmost,' samāna 'equal,' madhya 'middle,' madhyama 'middle,' and vīra 'hero,' are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case) with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As पूर्वपुरुषः 'ancestor,' (any one of the three, father, grandfather and great-grandfather), अपरपुरुषः 'successor,' चरमपुरुषः 'last person,' जघन्यपुरुषः 'hindermost person,' समानपुरुषः 'equal person,' मध्य or मध्यमपुरुषः 'middle person,' वीरपुरुषः 'heroic person.'

श्रेण्यादयः कृतादिभिः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रेणि-आदयः, कृत-
आदिभिः, (स०त०वि०सु०स०समान) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रेण्यादयः सुबन्ताः कृतादिभिः समानाधिकरणैः समस्यन्ते, तस्युरुपश्च समासो
भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रेण्यादिषु अयर्थवचनम् ॥

59. The case-inflected words श्रेण्य 'class' &c., are compounded with words कृता 'made' &c., which are in agreement (same case), with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Vart.—The words श्रेणि &c., for the purposes of this sūtra, are supposed to have the force of the affix चि (chvi). Thus श्रेण्यः श्रेण्यः कृताः = श्रेण्यकृताः 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before).

The class of words called कृतादि are अकृति-gaṇa and cannot be known a priori. [This Samāsa is also an invariable Samāsa by reason of sūtra II. 2. 18, since all words that end in chvi (चि) are called gati (I. 4. 61.)]

1. श्रेणि = A line, a series. 2. एक = One or एक. 3. पृग = A heap, collection, multitude. 4. मुकुन्द = Name of Krishna or कुन्द. 5. राशि = A heap, mass, collection. 6. निचय = A collection, heap. 7. विषय = An object or विशेष. 8. निधन = Poor, indigent or विधान, निधान. 9. पर = Distant. 10. इन्द्र = The god of rain. 11. देव = Divine, celestial. 12. मुण्ड = Shaved, bald. 13. भूत = Become, being. 14. भ्रमण = Sraman or भ्रमण. 15. बहान्य = Liberal minded. 16. अध्यापक = A teacher. 17. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 18. ब्राह्मण = Brāhman. 19. क्षत्रिय = Kshatriya. 20. विशिष्ट = Distinguished, distinct. 21. पटु = Clever, skillful, dexterous. 22. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 23. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 24. चपल = Shaking, trembling, tremulous. 25. निपुण = Skillful, dexterous. 26. कृपण = Wretched, helpless.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. कृत = Done, performed, made. 2. मित = Measured. 3. मद् = Thought, believed, supposed. 4. भूत = Produced, formed. 5. उक्त = Said, spoken, uttered. 6. युक्त = Joined, united. 7. समाज्ञात = Known or understood thoroughly. 8. समाम्नात = Repeated, recited. 9. समाख्यात = Reckoned up, counted, summed up. 10. संभावित = Considered, supposed, imagined. 11. संसेवित = Served. 12. अवधारित = Ascertained, known. 13. भवकल्पित = Corresponded with, answered. 14. निराकृत = expelled, banished. 15. उपकृत = Assisted, benefited, served &c. 16. उपाकृत = Invited. 17. दृष्ट = Seen, looked, perceived. 18. कलित = Counted. 19. क्लृप्त =

Broken, torn, rent, burst. 20. उदाहृत = Said, uttered. 21. विश्रुत = Well-known, renowned. 22. उदित = Risen.

क्तेन नञ्विशिष्टेनानञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, नञ्-विशिष्टेन, अनञ्, (स०त०वि०स०समानधि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमैव विशेषो यस्य सर्वमन्यत् प्रकृत्यादिकं तुल्यं तन्नञ्विशिष्टं तेन नञ्विशिष्टेन क्तान्तेन समानाधिकरणेन सह अनञ् क्तान्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृतापकृतादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ १ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समानाधिकरणाधिकारे शाकपार्थिव्यादीनामुपसंख्यानम्, उत्तरपदलोपश्च ॥ २ ॥

60. A word ending with the affix kta, and not having the negative augment nañ is compounded with the same word ending with the affix kta but which is distinguished from the former, by having the augment nañ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus कृताकृतम् 'done and not done,' भुक्ताभुक्तं 'eaten and not eaten,' पीतापीतं 'drunk and not drunk,' उदितानुदेतं 'spoken and not spoken.'

The intermediate augment न or the वृ, as in the following two examples, do not make the forms dissimilar. अशितानशितेन जीवति, क्लिष्टाक्लिष्टितेन वर्त्तते ॥

Vart:—The compounds कृतापकृत &c. should also be included.

भाकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. कृतापकृत. 2. भुक्तविभुक्त. 3. पीतविपीत. 4. गतप्रत्यागत. 5. यातानुयात.
6. क्रदाक्रथिका. 7. पुत्रापुत्रिका. 8. फलाफलिका. 9. मानोन्मानिका.

Vart:—The compounds like शाकपार्थिवश्च should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds. As शाकपार्थिवः पार्थिवः = शाकपार्थिवः 'the king beloved by the people of his era.' i.e. an era making king.

1. शाकपार्थिव. 2. कृतपसोभुत. 3. अजातोल्बन्ति.

सन्महत्परमोत्तमोत्कृष्टाः पूज्यमानैः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्-महत्-परम-उत्तम-उत्कृष्टाः, पूज्यमानैः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत् महत् परम उत्तम उत्कृष्ट इत्येते पूज्यमानैः सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

61. The words sat 'good,' mahat 'great,' parama 'highest,' uttama 'best,' and utkrishṭa 'excellent,' are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As सत्पुरुषः 'a good person,' महापुरुषः 'a great man,' परमपुरुषः 'the highest person,' उत्तमपुरुषः 'the best person,' उत्कृष्टपुरुषः 'the excellent person.'

Why do we say 'with words denoting the person deserving of respect?' Observe उत्कृष्टः गौः कईमात् 'the ox was pulled out of the mud.'

वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरैः पूज्यमानम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृन्दारक-नाग-कुञ्जरैः, पूज्यमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृन्दारक नाग कुञ्जर इत्येतेः सह पूज्यमानवाचि सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

62. A case-inflected word denoting object deserving of respect is compounded with the words vṛindāraka 'eminent,' nāga 'serpent or elephant,' kuñjara 'elephant'; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As गोवृन्दारकः 'an excellent bull or cow,' अश्ववृन्दारकः 'an excellent horse'. So also गोनागः, गोकुञ्जरः &c. Why do we say 'when meaning the object deserving of respect?' Observe सुसीमोनागः 'the serpent Susīma.'

कतरकतमौ जातिपरिमन्ने ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कतर-कतमौ, जातिपरिमन्ने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कतर-कतमौ जाति-परिमन्ने वर्तमानौ समर्थेन सुपा सह समस्येते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

63. The words katara 'which or who of two' and katama 'which or who of many', when used in asking questions about the genus or class, are compounded with other case-inflected words with which they are in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कतरकतः and कतरकान्नापः 'which of the two is katha, and which kAlāpa?' कतमकतः and कतमकान्नापः 'which of these is katha &c.'

It might be objected, 'what is the use of employing the word जातिपरिमन्ने in the aphorism; since the word कतम is especially employed in asking such questions; (see V. 3. 93) and the word कतर will get the same signification by being read along with it?' The very use of this phrase

in the aphorism shows that the word कस्य has other meanings besides that of an interrogative pronoun, of determining jāti; as कस्यो भवतोर्वचः 'which of you two, Sirs, is Devadatta,' and कस्यो भवतां देवदत्तः 'which of you, Sirs, is Devadatta.' Here there is no questioning about jāti, all belonging to the same genus, hence there is no compounding. (Accent VI. 2. 57.)

किं क्षेपे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्, क्षेपे, (स०त०स०समानाधि-
करणेनवि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमिष्येतत् क्षेपे गम्यमाने सुपा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

64. The word kim 'what,' when implying 'contempt,' is compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As किं राजा यो न रक्षति 'he is a bad king who does not protect his subjects.' किं सखा यो भिद्रुहति 'he is a bad friend who hates.' किं गौः यो न वहति 'it is a bad ox that does not carry.'

The affix टच् (V. 4. 91) does not come after this compound as in महाराजः, मद्रराजः &c., by force of Rule V. 4. 70. Otherwise the form would have been किंराज and not किंराजा.

Why do we say 'when censure is implied?' Observe कस्य राजा = किं राजः 'whose king;' किंसखः

पोटायुवतिस्तोककतिपयगृष्टिधेनुवधावेहद्बक्यणीप्रवक्तृश्रोत्रियाप्या
पकधूर्तैर्जातिः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पोटा-युवति-स्तोक-कतिपय-गृष्टि-धेनु-
वधा-वेहद्-बक्यणी-प्रवक्तृ-श्रोत्रिय-अध्यापक-धूर्तैः, जातिः, (स०सह०त०-
वि०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पोटादिभिः सह जातिवाचि सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

65. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jāti) is compounded with the words potâ 'a hermaphrodite,' yuvati, 'a young female,' stoka 'a little,' katipaya 'a few,' grishṭi 'a cow which has had only one calf,' dhenu 'milch-cow,' vaśâ 'a barren female,' vehad, 'a cow that miscarries,' bashkayaṇi 'a cow that has a full-grown calf,' pravaktri 'an expounder,' śrotriya 'a learned Brâhmana,' adhyâpaka 'a teacher,' and dhûrta 'a cunning fellow; and' the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As इभरोडा 'a young female elephant' इभयुवति 'a female elephant.' So also अग्निस्तोकः 'a little fire' उदशिवत् क तेषयम् 'a little butter milk,' गोगृष्टिः, गोधेनुः, गोवशाः, गोवेहम्, गोवष्कपणी, कठप्रवक्ता 'an expounder of Kaṭha', कठभोषिष, 'a Brāhmaṇa who has mastered the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda' कठाध्यापकः 'a teacher of the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a genus or a common noun?' Observe देवदत्तः प्रवक्ता 'Devadatta expounder.'

The word धूर्त has not a bad signification here. Hence कठधूर्त means 'a Brāhmaṇa well versed in the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

प्रशंसावचनैश्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि प्रशंसा-वचनैः, च, (स०वि०-जातिसह समानार्थे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचि सुवन्तं प्रशंसावचनैः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

66. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jāti) is compounded with a word denoting praise and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The words denoting praise should be rūḍhi (रूढि) words like मतल्लिका &c., which retain their specific gender though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as, गोपकाण्डम् 'an excellent cow,' अश्व मतल्लिका 'an excellent horse' गोमन्त्रिर्वैशा 'an excellent cow.' These words are generally used at the end of a compound to denote 'excellence' or 'the best of its kind.'

Why do we say 'when denoting genus?' Observe कुमारी मतल्लिका 'an excellent virgin.'

युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ युवा, खलति-पलित-वलिन-जरतीभिः, (स०वि०त०स०सहसमानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खलत्यादिभिः समानाधिकरणैः सह युवशब्दः समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

67. The word yuvâ 'young,' is compounded with the words khalati, 'bald headed,' palita 'grey-haired' valina 'wrinkled,' jarati 'decayed,' when they are in agreement (same case); and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word जरतीभि is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the aphorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxim of interpretation प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे निङ्ग-विशिष्टस्यापि महत्तम् ॥

'A Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.'

As, युवा + खलतिः = युवाखलतिः. So also युवतिः खलती = युवखलती in the feminine: 'bald in youth.' So युवपलितः fem. युवपलिता, 'grey-haired in youth' युववलिनः fem. युववलिना 'wrinkled in youth' युवजत् fem. युवजत्ती 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old.)

कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-तुल्य-आख्या ,
अजात्या , (स०वि०त०स०सु०)

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य-प्रत्ययान्तास्तुल्यपर्यायाश्च सुबन्ता अजातिवचनेन समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

68. Words ending with a kṛitya affix, and the word tulya 'equal,' and its synonyms, are compounded with words which do not denote genus (jâti) being in the same case with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, भोज्योष्णम् 'hot food,' भोज्यन्नवणं 'salt food' पानीयशीतलं 'cool drink, तुल्यश्वेतः 'equally white,' सद्गुणश्वेतः 'equally white.' सद्गुणमहान् 'equally great.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus? Observe भोज्य भोदनः 'eatable rice.' Here the word भोज्य is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun. Hence there is no compounding even under II. 1. 57.

वर्णो वर्णेन ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णः , वर्णेन , (स०त०वि०सह
समानाधि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णविशेषवाचि सुबन्तं वर्णविशेषवाचिना सुबन्तेन समानाधिकरणेन सह समस्यते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

69. A case-inflected word denoting 'colour' is compounded with another case-inflected word which is in agreement with the former, and also denotes colour, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कृष्णसारङ्गः 'spotted antelope,' लोहितसारङ्गः 'antelope dappled with red.' कृष्णचक्रः 'dappled with black spots' &c. For accent VI. 2. 3.

कुमारः अमणादिभिः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमारः, अमण-आदिभिः ,
(स०वि०त०स०समा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमारशब्दः अमणादिभिः सह समस्यते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

70. The word kumâra 'a boy' is compounded with co-ordinate words śramanâ 'an ascetic,' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

In this list of अमणा and the rest, with the words which are feminine such as अमणा , प्रव्रजिता, कुलटा, the word कुमार must also be in the feminine gender; with the words which appear as masculine, e.g. अध्यापक, अभिरूपक, पंडित the word कुमार must also be masculine, because 'a Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.

As, कुमारीअमणा and कुमारअमणा, 'a virgin ascetic' or a bachelor ascetic.'

अमणादिः ॥

1. अमणा = Labouring, toiling. 2. प्रव्रजिता = Gone abroad or into exile. 3. कुलटा = An unchaste woman. 4. गर्भिणी = A pregnant female. 5. सापत्नी = A hermit, devotee. 6. दासी = A female servant. 7. बन्धकी = An unchaste woman. 8. अध्यापक = A teacher. 9. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 10. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 11. मृदु = Soft. 12. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 13. चपल = Shaking, trembling. 14. निपुण = Clever, sharp, skillful.

चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुष्पादः , गर्भिण्या ;
(स०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुष्पादवाचिनः सुबन्ता गर्भिणी शब्देन समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ चतुष्पाद्जातिरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. A case-inflected word denoting a quadruped is compounded with the co-ordinate word gar-bhīṇī, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

गोर्गर्भिणी 'a pregnant cow.' अजागर्भिणी 'a pregnant she-goat.'

Vart:—It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds. So not here:—कालाक्षी गर्भिणी or स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी 'the pregnant cow called KĀlākṣhī or Svastimatī.'

Why do we say 'quadrupeds?' Observe कालाक्षी गर्भिणी . . .

मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयूर-व्यंसक-आदयः , च ,
स०त०वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते मयूरव्यंसकादयः शब्दास्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञाश्च भवन्ति ॥

72. And the words mayūra-vyamsakā 'cunning like a peacock,' &c., are Tat-purusha compounds.

These are irregularly formed Tat-purusha compounds. The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of restriction. For though the compound like मयूरव्यंसक is allowable, we cannot form a compound like परम मयूरव्यंसक .

The following is the list of such compounds:—

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मयूरव्यंसकादयः ॥

1. मयूरव्यंसक. 2. छान व्यंसक. 3. कम्बोजमुएह. 4. यवनमुएह. 5. हस्ते-गृह्य or हस्तगृह्य in the Vedas. 6. पादेगृह्य or पादगृह्य. 7. लाङ्गुलेगृह्य or लाङ्गुलगृह्य.
8. पुनर्वाय ॥ एहीडादयो ऽन्यपदार्थे as, 9. एहीडं वर्तते. 10. एहियवं वर्तते ॥ 11. एहिवाणिजा (क्रिया). 12. अपेहिवाणिजा. 13. प्रेहिवाणिजा. 14. एहिस्वागता. 15. अपेहिस्वागता. 16. एहिद्वितीया. 17. अपेहिद्वितीया. 18. प्रेहिद्वितीया. 19. एहिकटा. 20. अपेहिकटा or अपोहटका. 21. प्रेहिकटा or प्रोहकटा. 22. आहरकरटा. 23. प्रेहिकर्षमा. 24. प्रोहकर्षमा. 25. निधमचूडा. 26. उद्धमचूडा. 27. उद्धरचूडा. 28. आहरचेजा. 29. आहर वसना. 30. (आहरसेना). 31. आहरचनिता. 32. (आहरवितना). 33. कुन्तविचक्षण. 34. उद्धरोत्सृजा. 35. उद्धरावसृजा. 36. उद्धभविधमा. 37. उत्पन्नविपच्चा or विपच्चा. 38. उत्पन्नविपत्ता. 39. उच्चावचम्. 40. उचनीचम्. 41. आचोपचम्. 42. आचपराचम्. 43. नत्समचम्. 44. निचमचम्. 45. अर्किचन. 46. स्नात्साकाजक. 47. पीत्यास्थिरक. 48. भुक्तासुहित. 49. प्रोच्यपापीयान्. 50. उत्पत्त्यपाकला or व्याकुला. 51. निपत्त्यरोहिणी. 52. निषप-श्यामा. 53. अपेहिप्रपसा. 54. एहिविषसा. 55. इहपञ्चमी. 56. इहद्वितीया ॥ जहि कर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिदधाति. 57. जहिजोडः. 58. जहिजोडम्. 59. जहिस्तम्बम्. 60. (जहिस्तम्बः). 61. उज्जहिस्तम्बम् or च्चम्; आरच्यतामारच्यतेन क्रियासातरथे. 62. अश्रुर्नातिपिबता. 63. पञ्चतभृज्जता. 64. खादतमोदता. 65. खादन-वमता. 66. खादताचमता. 67. आहरनिचपा. 68. आहरनिष्कारा. 69. आचप-निष्कारा. 70. उत्पन्नविपच्चा. 71. भिन्धिजषणा. 72. कुन्धिविचक्षण. 73. पञ्चजषण. 74. पञ्चमकूटा.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्,

1. अकुतोऽभवः .
2. कान्दिर्णकः .
3. कन्दिशीकः .
4. भाहोपुरुषिका .
5. अहमहमिका .
6. यहच्छ .
7. एहिरेयाहिरा .
8. उन्मृजावमृजा .
9. प्रथ्यान्तरम् .
10. अमप्रयकार्यम् .

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER II.

पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-अपर-
अधर-उत्तरम्, एकदेशिना, एकाधिकरणे, (स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकदेशीऽस्यास्तीत्येकदेशी भवत्यती तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सह पूर्वापराधरोत्तर-
शब्दाः सामर्थ्यादेकदेशवचनाः समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

1. The words pūrva 'front,' apara 'near,'
adhara 'lower,' and uttara 'upper,' are compounded when
in construction with a word signifying a thing that
has parts, provided that the thing having parts is
distinguished numerically by unity; and the compound
is Tat-purusha.

The word 'ekādhikaraṇa' (the unity of substance) is the attribute of or
qualifies the word 'ekadeśin.' This debars the Genitive Tat-purusha compound
ordained by sūtra ⑨; which would have placed the words 'pūrva' &c., last in
the compound, whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I. 2. 43
and II. 2. 30), they take the precedence.

पूर्व + कायस्य = पूर्वकायः 'the front of the body'; अपरकायः 'the back of the
body'; अधरकायः 'the lower part of the body'; and उत्तरकायः 'the upper part
of the body.'

Why do we say 'what signifies a thing that has parts'? Observe
पूर्व नाम्नेः कायस्य. But not so in पूर्व छात्राणामामन्त्रय 'invite the fore-most of
the pupils': because here the substratum (adhikaraṇa) is not unity (eka).
But how do we get the compounds like मध्याह्नः 'noon'; सायाह्नः 'evening'? The
word 'ahna' is compounded with every word signifying its parts, because we
learn this by inference from sūtra VI. 3. 110.

अद्वै नपुंसकम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्वैम्, नपुंसकम्, (स०वि०त०सु०-
स०एकदेशिना एकाधिकरणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अद्वैमरयेतन्नपुंसकमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणेन समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

2. The word अर्द्ध ardhha when it signifies exactly equal parts i. e. halves, is always neuter, and is compounded with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word अर्द्ध is neuter when it means exactly equal parts or bisection.

The word एकदेशिन् and एकाधिकरण are understood here. This sūtra also debars sūtra 9; as अर्द्धपिप्पल्याः = अर्द्धपिप्पली 'a half of the pepper'; अर्द्धकोशातकी 'a half of the Kośātaki.'

Why do we say 'when it is neuter'? Otherwise we have ग्रामार्द्धः 'half the village'? नगरार्द्धः 'half the city.'

The word 'ekadeśin' must also be taken here. Thus in the sentence अर्द्धपशोर्देवदत्तस्य 'a half of the animal is of Devadatta'; we cannot compound the word 'ardha' with 'Devadatta.'

The word 'ekādhikarāṇa' must also be taken here. So we cannot compound अर्द्धपिप्पलीनाम् 'the half of the peppers.'

द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थतुर्याण्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीय-
तृतीय-चतुर्थ-तुर्याणि , अन्यतरस्याम् , (स०त०वि०एक-एक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयादीनि शब्दरूपाणि एकदेशिनैकाधिकरणेन सहान्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

3. The words dvitīya, 'second,' tṛitīya 'third,' chaturtha 'fourth,' and turya 'fourth,' are optionally compounded with that word which signifies a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity. The compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

This also debars sūtra 9. By the force of the word 'optionally' used here, II. 2. 9. also applies. The prohibition contained in II. 2. 11. as to the compounding of a genitive with an ordinal, does not apply here; for that rule can find its scope in other ordinals than those mentioned here.

As द्वितीयं भिक्षायाः = द्वितीयभिक्षा 'second begging.' When we apply sūtra 9, we have भिक्षाद्वितीयं. So also with the words तृतीयभिक्षा , चतुर्थभिक्षा , तुर्यभिक्षा .

Vart:—The word तुरीय 'fourth' should also be included. As भिक्षा-
तुरीयं or तुरीयभिक्षा .

But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sūtra, of the phrases द्वितीयं भिक्षाया भिक्षुरस्य or द्वितीयं भिक्षाणाम् .

प्राप्तापन्ने च द्वितीयया ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राप्त-भापन्ने, च, द्वितीयया, (स०स०वि०स०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राप्त भापन्न इत्येतौ द्वितीयान्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

4. The words *prāpta* 'obtained,' and *āpanna* 'obtained' are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-purusha compound.

The *anuvṛtiti* of the words 'ekadeśin' and 'ekādधिकारण' does not exist here. This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II. 1. 24. Thus we have प्राप्तजीविकः (मासो जीविको) or जीविकाप्राप्तः 'obtained his livelihood.' So also भापन्नजीविकः or जीविकापन्नः .

कालाः परिमाणिना ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालाः, परिमाणिना, (स०-वि०स०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणमस्यास्तीति परिमाणो वद्राशिना सुबन्तेन सह सामर्थ्यात् परिमाणवचनाः कालाद्याः समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

5. Words denoting time are compounded when in construction, with words denoting the object whose duration is measured by the time, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

5 This is also a kind of genitive compound. As मासो जातस्य = मासजातः 'a month old' (born a month ago.) So also संवत्सरजातः 'a year old.' द्व्यहजातः 'two-days' old.' &c.

नञ् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञ्, (समर्थःस०वि०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ् समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नञो नलोपस्तच्छि क्षेपे ॥

6. The negative word *nañi* is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As न ब्राह्मणः = अभ्राह्मणः 'who is not a Brāhmaṇa,' (though a man). The न् of न is elided by VI. 3. 73:

Vart:—The न् of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that censure is implied as भवन्नसि स्वं ज्ञान् 'thou cookest not O knave.'

The word नम् has six senses:—(1) सादृश्य 'likeness or resemblance'; as अभ्राह्मणः 'one like a Brāhmaṇa and wearing the sacred thread &c., but not a Brāhmaṇa, but a Kshatriya or a Vaisya.' (2) अभाव 'absence,' 'negation,' 'want,' or 'privation,' as अज्ञान 'absence of knowledge.' (3) भेदः 'difference' or 'distinction,' as अपटः 'not a cloth, but something different from or other than a cloth'. (4) अल्पता 'smallness,' 'diminution' used as diminutive particle, as अम्बुजा 'having a slender waist.' (5) अप्राशस्त्य 'badness,' 'unfitness,' having a depreciative sense, as अकाल 'wrong or improper time.' (6) विरोध 'opposition,' 'contrariety,' as अनीतिः 'opposite of morality,' 'immorality.'

ईषदकृता ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषद् , अकृता , (स०स०वि०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदित्यस्य शब्दोऽङ्गन्तेन सुपा सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईषद् गुणवचनेनेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

7. The word *ishat* 'a little,' is compounded with a case-inflected word which does not end with a *krit*-affix; and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

Vart:—It should be stated that the word ईषत् is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as ईषत्कङ्कः 'a somewhat proud.' ईषत्पिङ्गलः 'a little brownish.' ईषद्विकटः 'a little hideous.' ईषदुजलः 'a little raised.' ईषत् पीतम् 'a little yellow.' ईषद्रक्तम् 'a little red.'

Why do we say 'with words expressing qualities'? Observe ईषद्गार्भः; there is no compounding here.

षष्ठी ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी , (स०वि०स०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठ्यन्तं सुबन्तं समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ह्ययोगात् षष्ठी समस्यते इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction; and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

As राज्ञः पुरुषो = राजपुरुषः 'the king's man' ब्राह्मणकम्बलः 'the Brāhmaṇa's blanket.'

Vart:—When a word takes the genitive case because of its connection with a word ending in a *krit* affix; that word may be compounded with such a *krit* word. Rule II. 3. 65., states the conditions when a *krit*-formed

word governs the genitive case. Thus इधमप्रधनः 'a hatchet' (a fuel cutter), पलाशघातनः 'Palāśadestroyer. leaf-cutter

Why do we say so? The very fact that a special rule has been made for the compounding of genitive cases governed by kṛit-nouns, shows that other words which take genitive case by some special rule, are not so compounded. Such as the genitive cases ordained by II. 3. 38, 51, 52. In fact the genitive case ordained by any rule of Pāṇini, other than II. 3. 51, is a 'prātipadavidhāna' genitive; and a word taking genitive case according to those rules, is incapable of composition; see vārtika under II. 2. 10.

याजकादिभिश्च ॥ ९ ॥ यदानि ॥ याजरु-आदिभिः, च, (स०-स०चि०सु०स०षष्ठी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ याजकादिभिः सह षष्ठी समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तस्यैश्च गुणैः षष्ठी समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गुणोत्तरेण तत्पुरुषेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

9. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with the word yājaka 'sacrificer' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by Rule 16 in the case of याजक &c.; hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition. As ब्राह्मणयाजकः 'a Brāhmaṇa's sacrificer.' क्षत्रिययाजकः 'one who sacrifices for Kshatriyas.

(याजकादि) .

1. याजक . 2. पूजक . 3. परिचारक . 4. परिवेषक . 5. परिषेचक .
6. स्नापक or स्नातक . 7. अभ्यापक . 8. उत्साहक or उत्साहक . 9. उद्दत्तक .
10. होद . 11. भर्तृ . 12. रथगणक . 13. पत्तिगणक . 14. पीद . 15. हृद .
16. वर्तक .

Vart:—A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word. As ब्राह्मणवर्षः 'Brāhmaṇa-caste.' चंदनगन्धः 'sandal-scent.' कपित्थरसः 'the wood-apple juice.'

Vart:—So also with an adjective in the comparative degree; and the sign of comparison तद् is elided. Thus सर्वेषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वेतः 'the whitest of all.' सर्वेषां महत्तरः = सर्वमहत् 'the greatest among all.' This 'vārtika' is an exception in anticipation to the next sūtra which prohibits composition, when the genitive has the force of specification. Thus सर्वशुक्ला गोः 'a cow whitest among all.'

न निर्द्वारेणे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, निर्द्वारेणे, (स०त०वि०सु०-
स०षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्द्वारेणे वा षष्ठी सा न समस्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रतिपदविधाना च षष्ठी न समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (nirdhāraṇa).

With this sūtra, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case. The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called 'nirdhāraṇa.' As लज्जितो मनुष्याणां शूरतमः 'the Kshatriya is the most powerful amongst men.' कृष्णा गवां संपन्नधीरतमः 'the black cow is the most milk-giving amongst cows.' धावन्नधवानां शीघ्रतमः 'the runner is the swiftest amongst walkers.' This form of genitive meaning 'amongst,' is ordained by sūtra II. 3. 41.

Vart:—A word taking a genitive-case by force of any rule other than sūtra II. 3. 50, is never compounded. See sūtra 8. Thus the following words are never compounded सर्पिषोऽज्ञानम्, मधुनोऽज्ञानम् .

पूरणगुणसुहितार्थसद्व्ययतव्यसमानाधिकरणेन ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥
पूरण-गुण-सुहित-अर्थ-सद्-अव्यय-तव्य-समानाधिकरणेन (षष्ठीन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरण गुण सुहितार्थं सद् भव्यय तव्य समानाधिकरण इत्येतेः सह षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

11. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word having the sense of an ordinal, an attribute, or satisfaction, or with a participle ending in the affix called 'sat' (III. 2. 127) or an indeclinable, or ending with the affix tavya, or with a word denoting the same object (i. e., when they are in apposition).

The word 'artha' joins with all the first three words, as (1) छात्राणां पंचम. 'fifth amongst the pupils;' छात्राणाम् दशम. (2) काकस्य काण्ड्यम् 'the blackness of the crow,' बलाकायाः शौर्यम्. (3) फलानां सुहितः 'satisfied of fruits;' फलानां दशः . (4) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम् 'the doing of a Brāhmaṇa;' ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वाणः 'the doing of a Brāhmaṇa. (5) ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा 'being done of Brāhmaṇa,' ब्राह्मणस्य हुत्वा. (6) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम्. When however the affix is तव्यम् having the indicatory च (III. 1. 96.) there is compounding as ब्राह्मणकर्तव्यं 'the Brāhmaṇa's duty.' (7) राज्ञः पाटलिपुत्रकस्य 'of the king Pataliputrika' पाणिनेः सूत्रकारस्य 'of the sūtra composer

Pāṇini.' We can however form a compound like the following सूत्रकारपाणिनिः । By the general rule relating to words in apposition contained in sūtra II. 1, 57, the difference between that sūtra and the present, is as to position of the words. In the genitive compound the genitive word would have stood first if compounded ; not so in the other, there the quality stands first.

क्तेन च पूजायाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन , च , पूजायाम् , (स० षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तो यः पूजायां विहितस्तेन षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

12. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of 'kta' is to denote 'respect' &c.

The affix क्त is added in the sense of inclination, understanding 'or respect by sūtra III. 2. 188. The present sūtra alludes to that aphorism when it uses the word पूजाः and pūjā itself is used only as an illustration and includes the other two significations of 'kta' also, namely mati 'inclination,' and buddhi 'understanding.'

As रातां मतः—बुद्धः—पूजितः 'the king wishes, understands or respects.'

Why do we say 'when meaning respect'? When 'kta' has not this signification there is compounding. As छात्रहसितं 'pupil's laughing.'

अधिकरणवाचिना च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-वाचिना , च , (स० षष्ठी न क्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिना क्तेन षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

13. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of the latter is to denote 'locality' in which something has happened.

When the affix क्त is attached to roots denoting 'fixedness, motion or eating', it gives the sense of agent and of location in connection with the action denoted by the roots i. e., that the action is located by the agent in this or that site (III. 4. 76); as इदमेषां यातम् 'here they have gone.' इदमेषां भुक्तम् 'here they have eaten.'

कर्मणि च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि , च , (स० षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि च या षष्ठी सा न समस्यते ॥

14. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with another, when the force of the genitive case is that of the accusative.

The anuvṛtti of कृ does not extend to this aphorism. The word karma qualifies shashṭhi. Sūtra II. 3. 66 declares the conditions when, instead of the accusative, the genitive may be employed *i. e.*, when the agent and the object of the action denoted by the nouns formed by kṛit affixes, are both used in a sentence, the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent; as भाध्वो गवां दौहोऽभोपालक्रेन 'the milking of cows without a cowherd is a wonder.' रोषते भोद-नस्य भोजनं देवदत्तेन 'eating of rice agrees with Devadatta.' साधु खलु पयसः पानं देवदत्तेन 'the drinking of milk by Devadatta is indeed excellent.' विचित्रा सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनिना 'wonderful is the structure of sūtras by Pāṇini.'

तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृज्-अकाभ्याम्, कर्तरि,
(स०षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि या षष्ठी सा दृष्ट्याऽकेन च सह न समस्यते ॥

15. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka,' when the force of the genitive case is that of an agent.

The word 'kartari' qualifies the genitive-case. The affix दृच् is taught in sūtra III. 1. 133, and the affix भक् is not a single affix; all affixes that have an element बु are भक्; such as एबुवुन् or बुम् or बुन् (sūtra VII. 1. 1.) Thus भवतः शायिका 'your honor's repose' भवत आशिका 'your eating' भवतोऽग्रगामिका 'your going in front.'

The affix दृच् is employed always in forming nouns of agency; hence there can be no example of a word in a genitive case having the force of an agent, governing another word also having the force of an agent. The दृच् therefore serves no purpose in this aphorism, but applies to the sūtras that follow.

The genitive has the force of an agent under conditions mentioned in II. 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when it denotes agent'? Observe इधुमक्षिकां मे धारयसि.

कर्तरि च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, च (स०षष्ठीनतृजकाभ्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि च यो दृजको ताभ्यां सह षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

16. A word ending with the sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka' affix when the force of these latter affixes is that of an agent.

The word 'kartari' qualifies the word 'aka' only and not 'trich,' for the latter always denotes the agent and nothing else.

As भर्ता 'the creator of waters' पुरां भेत्ता 'the destroyer of cities' वज्रस्व भर्ता 'the holder of thunderbolt.'

It might be suggested that the word भर्तृ being read in the class of यामक (sūtra 9) ought to be compounded. The word भर्तृ there means 'husband,' while in the example we have given, it means 'holder.'

The above are examples of words formed by वृच्. Now we shall give examples of words formed by भक्; thus भोजनस्व भोजकः 'the eater of rice,' सक्तुना पायकः 'the drinker of saktu.'

नित्यं क्रीडाजीविकयोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, क्रीडा-
जीविकयोः, (सु०त०षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीडायां जीविकायां च नित्यं षष्ठी समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

17. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending with aka, when these affixes denote a sport or a livelihood; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This is a Nitya-samāsa incapable of analysis. This anuvṛtiti of the word 'na' which began with sūtra 10, does not extend further. The affix वृच् never has the sense of sporting or livelihood; the only examples possible are of 'aka.' Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभङ्गिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka flowers are broken or crushed.' So also वारण्यपुष्पत्रयिका 'a play of gathering flowers.'

So also इन्तज्ञेखकः 'one who earns his bread by painting or marking the teeth.' मखज्ञेखकः 'a nail-painter by profession.'

Why do we say 'when meaning sporting or livelihood.' Observe भोजनस्य भोजकः .

कुगतिप्रादयः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कु-गति-प्र-आदयः, (सु०त०-
नित्यसमर्थःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कु गति प्रादयः समर्थेन शब्दान्तरेण सह निश्चयं समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रादयो गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भयादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे द्वितीयया ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भयादयः कृडाद्यर्थे तृतीयया ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पर्यादयो ज्ञानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थया ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निरादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चम्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इवेन सह निश्चयसमासो विभक्तयलोपः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरसंज्ञं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रादिप्रसङ्गे कर्मप्रवचनीयानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

18. The indeclinable word *ku* 'bad,' the particles called *gati*, and the prepositions *pra*, &c., are invariably compounded with other words with which they are in construction; and the resulting compound is *Tat-purusha*.

The word *ku* means 'badness or sin'; as, *कुपुरुषः* 'a sinful man'; (2) *Gati* (I. 4. 60) as, *उररीकृतं* 'having asserted'; (I. 4. 61.) *यद्वरीकरोति* ॥

So also with the words *प्र* &c., when they are mere particles and not used as 'upasargas,' or '*gati*'; as *दुर्* meaning 'bad,' in *दुपुरुषः* 'a bad man'; so also *सु* and *भक्ति* meaning 'respect' in *सुपुरुषः* 'honorable man'; *भक्तिपुरुषः* 'excellent man'; *अ* means 'a little' as *आपिङ्गलः* 'brownish.'

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, as *कोष्णं* or *कदुष्णम्* or *कदोष्णम्* 'tepid.' So also *दुष्कृतम्*, *भक्तिस्तुतम्* and *आवद्गम्* ॥

Vart:—The words *प्र* &c., when the sense is that of 'gone' or the like, combine with what ends with the first case-affix. Thus *प्राचर्यः* 'a heretory teacher'; so also *प्राप्तेशासी*.

Vart:—The words *भक्ति* &c., when the thing denoted has the sense of 'gone beyond' or the like, combine with what ends with the second case affix. As *भक्तिक्रान्तः खट्वाम्* = *भक्तिखट्वा*: (I. 3. 44 and 48) 'without a bed-stead,' *भक्तिमालः* 'exceeding the necklace in beauty.'

Vart:—The words *भव* &c., when the thing denoted is 'cried out' &c., are compounded with what ends with third case-affix as *भवकूटः कोकिलया* = *भवकोकिलः* 'what is announced by the cuckoo' *i. e.*, the Spring.

Vart:—The words *परि* &c., when the thing denoted is 'weary' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fourth case-affix as *परिग्लानोऽभ्ययनाद्य* = *पर्यभ्ययनः* 'weary of study.' *भलंकुमारिः* 'wealth' (sufficient to support a maiden).

Vart:—The words *निर्* &c., when the thing denoted is 'gone beyond' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as *निष्कौशाम्बिः* 'who has gone beyond *Kausāmbi*'; so also *निर्वााराणसिः*.

Vart:—A word enters into composition with *इव* 'like'; and there is no elision of the case-affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as *वागर्थविद्व* 'like a word and its meaning,' *वासवीद्व* 'like two garments.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of *प्र* &c., when they are '*Karma pravachaniya*'; as *वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत्* 'the lightning flashes in the direction of the tree.' *साधु देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति* '*Devadatta* is good towards his mother.'

उपपदमतिकृ ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपपदम्, अतिकृ (स०त०-
नि०समर्थःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपदमतिकृन्तं समर्थेन शब्दान्तरेण सह समस्त्वते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

19. An upapada or attendant word (III. 1. 92), which does not end with a tense-affix (III. 4. 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction. The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha.

Thus कुम्भकारः 'one who makes pots,' नगरकारः 'one who makes cities.'

Why do we say 'which does not end with a tense-affix'? Observe एषानाहारको व्रजति 'he goes to bring fuel.

It might be objected, that the question of compounding with a word ending in a tense-affix is irrelevant; since the anuvṛitti of the words सुप् सुप्ता is understood here, so that तिङ् will find no scope. To this we reply that we should infer that the words सुप् सुप्ता should not be read into this and the last aphorism. The following Paribhāsha also arises from this sūtra.

गतिकारको पदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुवृत्पत्तेः ॥

"It should be stated that Gatis, Kārakas, and Upapadas, are compounded with bases that end with kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination or feminine-affix has been added to the latter."

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sūtras 18 and 19 with case-inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns before a case-termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kārakas also. Thus भव् क्रीती 'a female brought in exchange for a horse,' is formed correctly. भव्नेन क्रीयते सा - भव् क्रीत; add ङीप् (IV. 1. 50) and we have भव्ङ्क्रीती. If on the other hand, the feminine affix टीप् had been added to क्रीत previous to its composition with भव् the form would have been भव्ङ्क्रीता, and we should have had no base ending with short भ and in that case ङीप् could not have been added by IV. 1. 50.

अभेवाढययेन ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमा, एव, अढययेन (स०त०-
निरस०उपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अढययेनोपपदस्त्व ङः समासः सोऽभेव भवति नान्वयेन ॥

20. When an upapada is compounded with an indeclinable, then it is compounded only with those avyayas which end in the affix अम्.

This makes a restriction, to the general compounding of upapadas with avyayas as ordained by the last rule. As स्वादुकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats having made his food sweet.' So also लवणकारं 'having seasoned.' The avyayas ending in भम् are formed by the affix जमुञ् (III. 4. 26) &c.

Why do we say 'with avyayas ending in भम्'? Observe कालो भोजनम् 'the time of eating.' Here the avyaya ends in उम् of the affix तुमुन् added by rule III. 3. 167 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल, समय or वेला 'time.')

The force of the word 'only' is to indicate that this composition takes place in those cases where a rule ordains भम् only, after any root with regard to any upapada; so that no composition will take place where the affix भम् as well as another affix is ordained after a root with certain upapadas. Thus sūtra III. 4. 24, declares: "the affixes क्त्वा and जमुञ् come after a verb when the words भवे, प्रथम and पूर्व are upapadas." Here the भम् (affix जमुञ्) is not the sole affix ordained; but there is a co-ordinate affix with it namely क्त्वा. Therefore in भवेभोजनम् 'having first eaten' there is no composition because भवेभोजनम् is not the only form we can have; for, भवेभुक्त्वा is also used in the same sense.

तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-प्रभृतीनि
अन्यतरस्याम् (सत्त०उ०अमैवाव्ययेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपशंसास्त्वृतीयायाभिर्यतः प्रभृति दान्युपपदानि तान्यमैवाव्ययेन सहान्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

21. An upapada ending with a third case-affix (III. 4. 47) &c., is compounded optionally with an indeclinable formed by the affix अम् and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The term भम् is understood here. The upapadas ending with a third case-affix &c., are given in sūtra III. 4. 47 and the sūtras that follow. As मूलकोपशं भुङ्क्ते or मूलकोनोपशं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish.' So also पार्श्वोपपीड or पार्श्वोर्योरुपपीडम् शेते (III. 4. 49) 'he lies pressing on his ribs.' For upapadas ending with other cases, see sūtra III. 4. 52 &c. This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be tulya-vidhāna with the भम्; so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III. 4. 59 where भम् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is क्त्वा as well. This vibhāshā may therefore be called both प्रात and अप्रात vibhāshā. It is प्रात with regard to those rules where भम् is the only affix employed; and it is अप्रात with regard to those where भम् is not the only affix.

क्त्वा च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त्वा , च, (स०त०तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्य-
न्यतरस्यान् उप०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्ययेन सह द्वितीया प्रभृतीन्व्युपपदानि अन्यतरस्यां समस्वन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च
समासो भवति ॥

22. An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix *ktivá*; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule provides for avyayas ending in क्त्वा which the last two rules did not provide. Thus we have उप्यैः क्त्वा or उप्यैः कृता . Here the affix क्त्वा is added by sūtra III. 4. 59, In the case when there is composition, the क्त्वा is replaced by the substitute च्यप्; otherwise not. See VII. 1. 37.

The condition of the upapadas being in the 3rd case &c., applies here also. Therefore there is no composition in अलं क्त्वा or खलु क्त्वा .

शेषो बहुव्रीहिः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषः , बहुव्रीहिः (स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषः समासो बहुव्रीहिसंज्ञी भवति ॥

23. The remaining compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

A compound which does not fall within any one of the rules given above, will be Bahuvrīhi. This is a governing aphorism and extends up to sūtra 28. Thus विश्वगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.'

अनेकमन्यपदार्थे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेकम् , अन्य-पद-अर्थे (स०-
बहुव्रीहि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकं सुबन्तमन्यपदार्थे वर्तमानं समस्यते बहुव्रीहिय समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुव्रीहिः समानाधिकरणानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अग्नयानां च बहुव्रीहिवक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्युपमानपूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समुदायविकारपद्यथा बहुव्रीहिरुत्तरपदलोपश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रादिभ्यो धातुमस्योत्तरपदस्य लोपश्च वा बहुव्रीहिवक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नमोऽस्त्यर्थानां बहुव्रीहिर्वा चोत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुबधिकारेऽस्तिक्षीरादीनां बहुव्रीहिवक्तव्यः ॥

24. Two or more words, ending in any case-affix, form a compound, denoting another new thing, not connoted by those words individually; and the compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

The Bahuvrhi compound comes with the force of all the affixes but the first; as प्रातमुदकं ग्रामं = प्रातोदको ग्रामः 'a water-reached village.' कडरयो जडुगम् 'a bull by whom a cart is drawn.' उपहृतपशुकुम्भः 'Rūdra to whom cattle is offered,' लडुवोदना स्याली 'a vessel ^{from} in which rice ^{has been} placed.' विमगुंडवस्तः 'Devadatta ^{of} possessed of a brindled cow.' वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः 'a village ^{in which there are} possessed of heroic men.'

Bahuvrhi compound is not formed with the sense of the first case. As वृष्टे देवे गतः 'gone when it had rained.'

Why do we say 'more than one'? So that there may be compounding of many words, as in the following verse:—

सुसूक्ष्मजटकेणेन सुजभाजिनवाससा । पुत्री पर्वतान्नस्य कुतो हेतोर्विवाहिता ॥ .

'Why was the daughter of the king of the mountains married by Siva possessed of beautifully-delicate-locked-hair, and cheap-deer-skin-dress.'

Vart:—Bahuvrhi compounds are formed of words having the same case, so that words not being in apposition are not so compounded; as पंचभिर्मुक्त-यत्न .

Vart:—The compounds of indeclinables are Bahuvrhi; as उच्छेर्मुखः 'possessed of raised mouth.' So also नीचेर्मुखः &c.

Vart:—The second member is elided in a Bahuvrhi compound of which the first member is a word in the locative case, or a word with which comparison is made (उपमान). As, कण्ठे स्थितः काजोऽस्य = कण्ठे कालः 'in whose throat there is blackness (Siva).' उरसिज्जोमः 'who has hair on his chest.' उच्छेर्मुखः मुखनिव मुखं यस्य सः = उच्छेर्मुखः 'he whose face is like that of a camel.' खरमुखः 'ass-faced.'

Vart:—Bahuvrhi compound may be formed after eliding the second member with a word in the sixth case denoting 'collection or modification.' As केशानां संघातः = केशसंघातः, केशसंघातधुडाऽस्य = केशधुदः 'he who has a collection of hair as crest.' सुवर्णस्य विकारोऽजंकारोऽस्य = सुवर्णजंकारः 'he who has ornaments made of gold.'

Vart:—The optional compounding of what arises from a verbal root coming after व्र &c. should be stated, and the elision of the subsequent term. As प्रपतितं पर्णमस्य = प्रपर्णः 'a tree of which the leaves are all fallen.' So also प्रपलायः .

Vart:—The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative नञ् should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms. As, भविद्यमान पुत्रो यस्य = अपुत्रः 'childless.' So also भग्यार्च्यैः 'wife-less.'

Vart:—Compounds like अस्तिक्षीरा should be stated as Bahuvrhi. As अस्तिक्षीरा ब्राह्मणो 'a Brāhmaṇ having milk.' These words are indeclinables. The word 'asti' here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb.

संख्ययाऽव्ययासत्तादूराधिकसंख्याः संख्येये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥

संख्यया , अव्यय-आसत्त-अदूर-अधिक-संख्याः , संख्येये , (सप्तहृद्ब्रीहिःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्येये या संख्या वर्तते तथा सहाव्ययासत्तादूराधिकसंख्याः समस्यन्ते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

25. Indeclinable words and the words āsanna 'near,' adūra 'near,' adhika 'more' and the words called saṅkhyā (Numerals) are compounded with another saṅkhyā word, when ^{that other word refers to an object to} the sense is that of a numeral or saṅkhyā. The compound is Bahuvrihi. ^{compounded (i.e. when used as an adira as a noun).}

Thus उपदशाः (V. 4. 73) 'those who are near ten i.e. nine or eleven.' Similarly उपविंशः 'nineteen or twenty-one' (VI. 4. 142). So also आसन्नदशाः 'nine or eleven.' अदूरदशाः 'nine or eleven.' अधिकदशाः 'eleven.'

So also two 'numerals' may be compounded; as, द्विधाः 'two or three.' द्विदशाः 'twenty.'

Why do we say 'with a numeral'? Observe पंच ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brāhmanas.'

Why do we say 'with an Indeclinable &c'? Witness ब्राह्मणाः पंच . Why do we say 'when denoting a numeral'? Observe अधिका विंशति र्गवाम् 'of cows more than twenty.'

दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिङ्-नामानि , अन्तराले (सप्तहृद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिङ्नामानि सुबन्तानि अन्तराले वाच्ये समस्यन्ते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे पुंल्लापः ॥

26. Words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded, when the compound signifies the intermediate point, and the compound so formed is Bahuvrihi.

Thus दक्षिणपूर्वदिक् dakshina-pūrvā, 'south-east,' (the direction midway between south and east.) पूर्वोत्तर 'north-east.'

The word नाम is introduced in the sūtra to indicate that no compounding takes place when the words denoting direction are derivative words whose primary signification is not indicative of direction; as ऐन्द्रपथकीवेर्वाथ विशोर्येन्दनानम् 'the point between east and north.' Here the words ऐन्द्री 'east' and कावेरी 'north' though denoting directions, are derivatively so, and hence no compounding.

Vart:—Whenever a Bahuvrīhi gets the designation of Sarvanāman (I. 1. 28, 29), the first term becomes masculine, by VI. 3. 34; as *इक्षिणा + पूर्वा = इक्षिणपूर्वा* ॥

तत्र तेनेदमिति सरूपे ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, तेन , इदम्, इति, सरूपे (स०बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सतम्यन्ते सरूपे परे तेनेति च दतीयान्ते इदमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

27. Two homonymous words (both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case) are compounded, the sense being ' this happens therein or with that.' The compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

The word *तत्र* means 'a word in the locative case,' and *तेन* 'a word in the instrumental case.' The word *सरूप* or 'similar form' applies to both. The word *इति* indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, 'seizing, striking, fighting.' All these senses are implied by *इति*. The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of seizing; and the word is exhibited in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of striking; the word indicated by the word *इदमिति* is *युद्ध*; as *कोशेषुकोशेषु च गृहीत्वा इदं युद्धं वृत्तं = कोशाकोशि* (VI. 3. 137 and V. 4. 127.) 'hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other's hair'; *कचाकचि* 'hair against hair'; *इण्डेथ इण्डेथ प्रहस्य इदं युद्धं वृत्तं = इण्डाइण्ड* 'stick against stick, fight with stick and stave;' so also *गुलामगुलामी*. In the above examples the *samāsānta* affix *इच्* is added at the end by rule V. 4. 127; and all such words are *Avyaya* or indeclinable. The final vowel of the first term is lengthened by Rule VI. 3. 137.

Why do we say 'having the same form'? We cannot form such a compound from the following: *इलेथ मुपलेथ प्रहस्य इदं युद्धं वृत्तम्*.

तेन सहैति तुल्ययोगे ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन, सह-इति, तुल्ययोगे, (स०बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहैत्येतच्छुद्धरूपं तुल्ययोगे वर्तमानं तेनेति दतीयान्तेन सः समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

28. The word *saha* 'together' is compounded with a word ending with the third case-affix and the compound is Bahuvrīhi; provided that, the companion and the person accompanied are equally affected by any action or thing, in the same manner.

Thus सह पुत्रेणागतः = सपुत्रः (VI. 3. 82, सह changed to स) 'he has come accompanied by his son'. सख्यजनः 'accompanied by the pupil.' सकर्मकः 'accompanied by the servant.'

Why do we say 'tulya-yoga'? Witness सहेव दशानिः पुत्रैर्भातं वहति पर्वणी 'the she-ass carries the whole burden, though there exist her ten sons.'

How do we get the forms like सकर्मकः, सजोषकः, सपक्षकः &c., in which there is no 'tulya-yoga'? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (सुख्य गोगवचनं प्रायिकं).

चार्यं दृग्दूः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ च-अर्थे, दृग्दूः, (स०अनेकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकं सुबन्तं चार्ये वर्तमानं समस्यते दृग्दूश्च समासो भवति ॥

29. When a set of several words ending with case-affixes stands in a relation expressible by 'and' the set is made into a compound; and the compound so formed is called Dvandva.

The meanings that may be indicated by च 'and' are four, (1) समुच्चयः 'community of reference,' (2) भन्वाचय 'collateralness of reference, (3) हतरेतरजोषः 'mutual conjunction' and (4) समाहारः 'aggregate.' In the first two cases *vis.*, community of reference, and collateralness of reference, composition does not take place, because the words are not directly related to one another (II. 1. 1). Composition is enjoined therefore, when the sense of च is that of mutual conjunction and lumping. Thus we cannot compound ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व 'reverence God and thy Guru' or भिक्षाम्त्र गां चान्व 'go for alms and bring the cow.' But we can compound the following द्वक्षश्च न्यग्रोधश्च = द्वक्षान्वयोधौ 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees.' So धव-खदिर-पलाशाः, वाक्पुत्रम्, वाग्दुपसम् ॥

उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्जनम्, पूर्वम् (समासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्जनसंज्ञकं समासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

30. The upasarjana (I. 2. 43) is to be placed first in a compound.

The word समासे is understood here. The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samāsa, must stand first. The constant application of this rule has been illustrated in the previous aphorisms. Without this rule, there would have been no fixity as to the position of words.

राजदन्तादिषु परम् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजदन्त-आदिषु, परम्, (स०उपसर्जनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजदन्तादिषु परमुपसर्जनं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

31. the upasarjana is to be put last in the words Rājadanta &c.

Thus राजदन्तः (दन्तानां राजा) ' a chief of teeth ' (i.e., an eyetooth). It is not merely the upasarjana that is placed last in these examples ; but words which by some other rules would have stood first, stand in this list as second.

1. राजदन्तः . 2. अभेवणम् . 3. लिङ्वासिसम् . 4. नममुषितम् . 5. सिक्तसं-
मृष्टम् . 6. मृष्टलुञ्जितम् . 7. अवह्निजपकने . 8. अपिंतोतम् . 9. (अपिंतोतम्) . 10.
उसगाडम् . 11. उलूखजमुसजम् . 12. तण्डुलकिण्वम् . 13. दृषदुपलम् . 14. भारद्वा-
यनि . 15. (भारद्वायनबन्धकी) . 16. चिन्नरथवाल्हीकम् . 17. भवन्त्यग्रमकम् . 18.
शूद्रार्यम् . 19. द्वातकराजानौ . 20. विष्वक्सेनार्जुनौ . 21. अक्षिध्रुवम् . 22. दारगवम् .
23. शब्दार्थौ . 24. धर्मार्थौ . 25. कामार्थौ . 26. अर्थशब्दौ . 27. अर्थधर्मौ .
28. अर्थकामौ . 29. वैकारिमतम् . 30. गाजवाजम् . 31. (गोजवाजम्) . 32. गोपालि-
धानपूजासम् . 33. (गोपालधानीपूजासम्) . 34. पूजासकारणम् . 35. (पूजासककु-
रणम्) . 36. स्थूलासम् . 37. (स्थूलपूजासम्) . 38. शिरोरबीजम् . 39. (जिज्ञास्थि) .
40. सिञ्जास्थिम् . 41. (सिञ्जास्थिम्) . 42. चिन्नास्वाती . 43. (चिन्नास्वाति) .
44. भार्यापती . 45. इत्यती . 46. जन्मती . 47. जायापती . 48. पुत्रपती . 49.
पुत्रपत्नी . 50. केशशम्भु or शम्भुकेशौ . 51. शिरोविजु . 52. शिरोबीजम् . 53.
शिरोजानु . 54. सर्पिर्मधुनी . 55. मधुसर्पिणी . 56. भायन्तौ . 57. भन्तादीः
58. गुणवृद्धी . 59. वृद्धिगुणौ .

द्वन्द्वे चि ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वे , चि , (स०उ०पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे समासे च्यन्तं पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

32. In a Dvandva compound, let a word called चि (I. 4. 7) stand first.

As हरिहरो ' Hari and Hara. ' So also पद्मगुप्तो and मृदुगुप्तो . Where there are more than one such चि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest to follow no fixed rule. As पद्ममृदुगुप्ताः or पद्मगुप्तमृदुगुप्तः .

Why do we say ' Dvandva ? ' Observe विसृष्टपदुः which is Tat-purusha .

अजाद्यदन्तम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अज्-आदि-अदन्तम् ,
(स०उ०पूर्वम्-द्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजाद्यदन्तं शब्दरूपं द्वन्द्वे समासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुष्वनियमः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्वन्द्वेऽयजाद्यदन्तं विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

33. In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short अ be placed first.

Thus, उच्छ्वरम् 'the camel and the ass.' उच्छ्वशकम् 'the camel and the hare.'

Vart:—When there are many such words there is no fixed rule. As अश्वरथेन्द्राः or इन्द्ररथाश्वाः .

Vart:—In the Dvandva compounds the चि would stand first only then, when the rule of अत्रायदन्त does not prohibit it. Thus इन्द्राग्नी or इन्द्रवायु. Here अग्नि and वायु though चि, do not stand first, because इन्द्र beginning with a vowel and ending in short अ, by the rule of vipratishedha takes precedence (I. 4. 2).

Why do we say 'अत् with a स्' (I. 1. 70)? This rule does not apply when it is long अस् as अश्वा + वृषः = अश्वावृषो or वृषाश्वे :

अल्पाक्षरम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अल्पाक्षरम्, (सष्टन्द्वेपूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अल्पाक्षरं शब्दकणं द्वन्द्वे समासे पूर्वमथोक्तव्यम् ॥

1 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अतुनस्तत्राणामानुपूर्व्येण समानाक्षराणां पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

2 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लघ्वक्षरं पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्वर्हितं च पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्णानामानुपूर्व्येण पूर्वनिपातः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आतुश्च ड्यायसः पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संख्याया अल्पीयस्याः पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

34. In a Dvandva compound, that word-form which has fewer vowels, is to be placed first.

Thus हस्त + न्यधीध = हस्तन्यमोधी; and धबखदिरपलाराः ॥

When there are many words, there is no fixed rule. As शंसुदुभिवीणाः or वीणाशंसुदुभवः .

Vart:—Names of seasons and stars consisting of equal number of syllables should be arranged in the compound according to their natural order of succession. As हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः; चिन्नास्वाती; कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ .

When they do not consist of equal syllables, the shorter should be placed first; as धीष्मवसन्तो .

Vart:—A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first. As, कशाकाशं; शरशाशम् .

Vart:—The more honorable of the two is placed first; as, मातापितरौ 'mother and father,' अज्ञाने 'faith and intelligence' दीक्षातपसी 'initiation and austerity'.

Vart:—The castes are placed according to their order: as, ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविद्सूत्राः 'Brāhmaṇa Kshatriya Vaiśya and Sudra.' There is no limitation of equality of syllables here.

Vart:—The name of the elder brother is placed first; as युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ 'Yudhishṭhira and Arjuna.'

Vart:—Among numerals, the less in value is placed first; as द्वित्रा 'two; and three'; त्रिचतुरा 'three and four.'

सप्तमी विशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, विशेषणे, बहुव्रीहौ, (स०पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं विशेषणं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वनामसंख्ययोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वा मियस्य पूर्वनिपातः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्याः पूर्वनिपाते प्राप्ते गर्वाक्षिभ्यः सप्तम्यन्तं परम् ॥

35. A word with the seventh case-affix and an epithet are to be placed first in the Bahuvrīhi compound.

In a Bahuvrīhi, all words are upasarjana, and hence there is no rule for their arrangement. The present aphorism declares that rule; as कण्ठेकालः 'who is black in the throat.' So also इरसिलोभा, श्विनगुः, शबलगुः.

Vart:—The sarvanāmas and the numerals stand first; as सर्वश्वेतः, सर्वकुण्डः, द्विशुक्लः, द्विकुण्डः. In a compound formed by the composition of sarvanāma words with a saṅkhyā word, the latter should stand first; as, द्वयन्वः, वयन्वः &c.

Vart:—The word मिय may optionally stand first; as गुर्वमिवः or मिवगुर्वः.

Vart:—After the words गङ्गु &c., the word in the 7th case-affix comes as subsequent; as गङ्गुकण्ठः 'a hump-necked'; गङ्गुशिराः &c.

How is then the word गङ्गुशिराः 'hump in the shoulder' to be explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the exceptional vārtika.

निष्ठा, ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, (स०बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निष्ठायाः पूर्वनिपाते जातिकालसुखाक्षिभ्यः परसप्तमम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रहरणार्थेभ्यश्च परे निष्ठासप्तम्यो भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

36. What ends with a Nishṭhā (I. 1. 26) shall stand first in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus बुक्तयोगः 'one who is devoted to devotion'; कृतकठः 'one who has made the mat'; निक्षिप्तभिक्षिः 'one who has begged alms.'

Vart:—A word expressing jāti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent; as, शाङ्गजम्भी, मासमातः, and सुखमातः &c.

Vart:—The words ending in Nishṭha or in the locative case stand subsequent, when coming after words denoting 'striking'; as भस्त्रुद्यत् 'ready with sword'; इण्डपाणिः 'holding sceptre in hand.'

आहिताग्न्यादिषु ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आहित-अग्नि-आदिषु
(निष्ठा पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहिताग्न्यादिषु निष्ठान्तं पूर्वं वा प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

37. In the compounds Ahitāgni and the like, the Nishṭhā-formed word may optionally be placed first.

Thus अग्न्याहितः or आहिताग्निः 'one who has consecrated fire.'

1. आहिताग्निः . 2. जातपुत्रः . 3. जातवन्तः . 4. जातश्मश्रुः . 5. तैलपीथः .
6. पृथपीथः . 7. मयपीथः . 8. कर्तार्यः . 9. गवार्थः .

आकृतिगणोद्भवम् .

1. गजुकण्ठः . 2. भस्त्रुद्यत् . 3. (भस्त्रुद्यत्) . 4. इण्डपाणिमभृतवोअभि .

This आहिताग्नि class is ākṛitigana; so that words like गजु &c., must be looked for in this class.

कडाराः कर्मधारये ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कडाराः, कर्मधारये,
(समासे पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडारादयः शुभ्राः कर्मधारये समासे वा पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

38. The words kaḍārah and the like, are optionally placed first in the karmadhāraya.

Thus कडारजैमिनिः or जैमिनिकडारः Kaḍārajaiminiḥ or jaiminikaḍārah. 'The tawny Jaimini.'

1. कडार . 2. गडुज . 3. खड्ग . 4. खोड . 5. काण . 6. कुण्ड .
 7. खलति . 8. गौर . 9. वृद्ध . 10. निभुक . 11. पिङ्ग . 12. पिङ्गल . 13.
 (पिङ्गल) . 14. तड . 15. तनु . 16. जडर . 17. बधिर . 18. मडर . 19.
 कड . 20. बर्बर .

This sūtra enjoins an option where by general rule guṇa words being attributes would have invariably stood first.

Why do we say 'in the karmadhāraya compound'? Observe कडार-
 पुरुषो नामः 'a village of tawny men,' which is Bahuvrīhi. Here ends the force
 of I. 4. ३ and II. 1. 3.

ओ३म्

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER III.

अनभिहिते ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्-अभिहिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनभिहित इत्यधिकारोऽयं वेदितव्यः । यदित उद्धमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽनभिहित इत्येवं तदेदितव्यम् ॥

1. The word 'anabhihite' meaning 'not being specified' is to be understood as the governing word.

Whatever will be taught from this point forward, should be understood to apply to those cases which have not been specified otherwise. The case-affixes like those denoting 'object' 'instrument' &c., are applied to a noun, only then, when the force of the case-affix is not otherwise denoted or mentioned or exhibited. The force of a case-affix may be so denoted either by first, the conjugational affixes निङ् ; secondly, by the Primary affixes or कृत्, thirdly, by the secondary affixes तद्धित ; or lastly by compounds. Thus sūtra 2 declares that the second case-affix is applied in denoting the object, as कटं करोषि 'he makes the mat'; ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' But the object can otherwise be denoted. Thus by the passive conjugational affix, as कृत्यते कटः 'the mat is made.' Here the termination of the verb denotes the object. See sūtra I. 3. 13. and III. 4. 69. So also by the kṛit affix, as कृतः कटः 'the mat is made,' see Sūtra III. 4. 70. So also by a Taddhita affix as शतस्य or शतिकः meaning 'purchased with a hundred' = शतेन क्रीतः . Similarly by samāsa, as ग्राममुक्त्वा ग्रामम् = ग्रामोक्त्वा ग्रामः ॥

कर्मणि द्वितीया ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि , द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि कारके या संख्या तत्र द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उभसर्वतसोः कार्या धिगुपर्यादिषु निषु ।

द्वितीयाऽधेदितान्तेषु ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अभितः-परितः-समया-निरुपा-हा-प्रति-योगेषु च दृश्यते ॥

2. When the object is not denoted by the termination of the verb, i. e. when the verb does not agree with it, the second case-affix is attached to the word.

The terms *dvitīyā* &c., are technical phraseology of older grammarians, and hence not defined by Pāṇini; they apply to the triads of *सुप्* affixes. *कटं करोति* 'he makes the mat,' *ग्रामं गच्छति* 'he goes to the village.'

The words *उभयतः*, *सर्वतः*, *धिक्* and the double forms *उपर्युपरि*, *अधोऽधः*, *अधधि*, when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative. Sometimes other cases also, as *उभयतो ग्रामं* 'on both sides of the village'; *सर्वतो ग्रामं* 'on all sides of the village'; *धिग्देवदत्तं* 'fie to Devadatta'; *उपर्युपरि ग्रामम्* 'just over the village'; *अधधि* or *अधोऽधो ग्रामम्* 'just below the village.'

Vart:—The words *अभितः*, *परितः* both meaning 'round', *सभया*, *निकषा* both meaning 'near' and *हा* 'woe be to,' and *प्रति* 'to,' govern the accusative case; as, *अभितो ग्रामम्* 'round the village,' *ग्रामं सभया* 'near the village'; *हा देवदत्तं* 'woe be to Devadatta'; *बुभुक्षितमन् प्रतिभाति किञ्चित्* 'to a hungry person nothing occurs to his mind.' See I. 4. 49 &c.

तृतीया च हीश्छन्दसि ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, च, होः, छन्दसि, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये जुहोतेः कर्मणि कारके तृतीया विभक्ति भवति द्वितीया च ॥

3. In the *chhandas* (*veda*), the object of the verb *हु* 'to sacrifice' takes the affix of the third case, and of the second as well.

This ordains the third case-affix; and by force of the word *च* 'and' the second case-affix is also employed as *यवाग्निहोत्रं जुहोति* 'he satisfies or pleases Agni with barley-powder,' or *यवागुमग्निहोत्रं जुहोति* 'he throws barley-powder into the fire as oblation.'

Why do we say 'in the vedas?' In the classical Sanskrit, the accusative only must be used and not the instrumental.

अन्तराऽन्तरेणयुक्ते ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तरा, अन्तरेण, युक्ते, (द्वितीया)

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तराऽन्तरेणयुक्ते निपातो साहचर्याद् गृह्यते । आभ्यां योगे द्वितीया विभक्ति भवति ॥

4. A word joined with (or governed by) the word *antarā*, or *antareṇa* takes the second case-affix.

The *anuvṛtiti* of *dvitīyā* is understood here and not that of *trītiyā*. Both these words *antarā* and *antareṇa* are *Nipātas*. They govern the accusative. This debarb the genitive case. The word *antarā* means 'between' while *antareṇa* means 'besides that,' 'without,' ('exception,' 'with reference to' 'regarding.') As. *अन्तरेण पुरुषकारं न किञ्चिद्भवति* 'nothing can be

gained without exertion. अन्तरा or अन्तरेण स्त्री च मां च कर्मणः 'the bowl is between thee and me.' कोऽन्यस्त्रिंशं मां तरेण शक्तः प्रति कर्तुम् 'who else but thee is able to retaliate.'

Why do we say 'when joined with?' Observe अन्तरा तत्पश्चिञ्च पाठलिपुत्रं सुप्रस्य प्राकारः .

कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-अध्वनोः , अत्यन्त-संयोगे ; (द्वितीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काल शब्देभ्योऽपशब्देभ्यश्च द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति अत्यन्त संयोगे गम्यमाने ॥

5. After a word denoting time, or length, the affix of the 2nd case is employed, when denoting full duration.

मासमर्षिते 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' मासं कन्याणी 'prosperous during the month' (uninterruptedly), संवत्सरं पुष्पाः 'flowers during the year continually,' क्रोशं कुटिला नदी 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' क्रोशं पर्वतः 'the hill through one full kos.' सभा वैश्रवणी राजन् शवयोजनमायत्त 'O king the hall of Viśravana is 100 yojanas in length.'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग or 'full continuity' means the complete relation of time or space with its action, attribute or substance.

Why do we say 'atyanta-sanyoga or complete continuity?' Observe मासस्य द्विरधीने or क्रोशस्यैकदेशे पर्वतः ॥

अपवर्गे तृतीया ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपवर्गे , तृतीया , (कालाध्वनो रत्यन्तसंयोगे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपवर्गे गम्यमाने कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

6. The third case-affix is employed after the words denoting the duration of time or place, when the accomplishment of the desired object is meant to be expressed.

मासेनानुशाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvāka in a month,' क्रोशेनानुशाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvāka by going over a kos.'

The word अपवर्ग means 'the finishing of an action, on the attainment of the object intended by the action, but not before.' Thus संवत्सरेणानुशाकोऽधीतः means 'Anuvāka was perseveringly and effectually read by him in the whole year.'

When the idea of apavarga is not intended, the accusative case is employed, as मासमर्षितोऽनुशाकः 'learnt for a month, but not yet completed, the Anuvāka.'

सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी-पञ्चम्यौ ,
कारक-मध्ये , (कालाध्वनोर०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारकयोर्मध्ये यो कालाध्वानो ता-यां सप्तमी पञ्चम्यौ विभक्ती भवतः ॥

7. A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of the seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that the time or space is the interval between one action and another action (or implies an interval of time and space between two kārakas).

Ex. अयं भुक्त्वा देवदत्तो पुढे पुहाद्वाभोक्त्वा 'having dined today, Devadatta will dine in or after two days.' Here the 'time' is the interval between the agent and his power of eating. So also इहस्थोऽयमिभ्यासः क्रौरात् क्रोशे वा लक्षं विभ्येत् 'standing here, he will hit a mark at the distance of one kos.' Here kos is the interval between the agent and the object, or the object and the ablation, or the object and the location. The rule I. 3. 10 does not apply here.

कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीय-युक्ते ;
द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्धुक्ते द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

8. The second case-affix is employed after a word which is joined with a karmapravachanīya (I. 4. 83),

Ex. शाकल्यस्य सं-हेतामनुप्रावर्षत् 'It rained on (hearing) the reading of the Veda by Śākalya.' So also आगस्त्यमन्त्र-सिञ्चत् प्रजाः ॥

यस्माद्धिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्माद्-
अधिकं, यस्य, च , ईश्वर-वचनं , तत्र , सप्तमी , (कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्माद्धिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्धुक्ते तत्र सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

9. Where a word is governed by a karmapravachanīya in the sense of 'more than' (I. 4. 87) or 'lord of' (I. 4. 97) there the 7th case- affix (locative) is employed.

Ex. उपस्यार्यान् श्रेयः 'A Drona is more than a Khāri,' अधिपन्नदत्ते पञ्चालः 'Brahmadatta is the lord of Panchālas.' The phrase यस्यचेश्वर वचनं indicates that both the thing owned and the owner may be in the locative. See I. 4 97.

This aphorism debars the accusative.

पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, अप-आङ्-परिभिः, (कर्मप्रवचनीयु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप भाङ् परि इत्येतेः कर्मप्रवचनीयेष्वेतेषु पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

10. The fifth case-affix (Ablative) is employed when a word is governed by the following karmapravachaniyas i. e. apa, āñ and pari.

Ex. अर or आ or परि पाटलिपुत्रात्पाटो देवः 'It rained off or upto or with the exclusion of, Pātaliputra.'

The परि here has the meaning of 'exclusion' (I. 4. 88) being read along with अप; therefore, not here वृत्तं परि विद्योतते विद्युत् (I. 4. 90).

प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-निधि-प्रतिदाने, च, यस्मात् (कर्मप्र०) (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मात्प्रतिनिधिर्यतश्च प्रतिदानं तत्र कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

11. The 5th case-affix (ablative) is employed after what soever is governed by a karmapravachaniya in the sense of 'substitute' or 'exchange' (I. 4. 92).

Ex. अभिमन्युरर्जुनतः प्रति 'Abhimanyu is the representative of Arjuna.' माषानस्मैतिन्नेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति 'he exchanges māshās for this sesamum.' See I. 4. 92 for an explanation of प्रतिनिधि and प्रतिदान .

गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ चेष्टायामनध्वनि ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-कर्मणि, द्वितीया-चतुर्थ्यौ, चेष्टायाम्, अनध्वनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थानां धातूनां चेष्टाक्रियाणां परिस्वन्दक्रियाणां कर्मणि कारकेऽध्वनिर्भवे द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ भवतः

12. In the case of roots implying motion, the place to which motion is directed takes the affix of the 2nd (Accusative) or the 4th (Dative) case in denoting the 'object,' when physical motion is meant, and the object is not a word expressing 'road'.

Ex. ग्रामं or ग्रामाय गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' But not so in मनसा हरिं व्रजति (the verb not denoting physical motion) 'he goes mentally to Hari' अध्वानं गच्छति 'he goes over the way' (the object being the 'way'). But not so in ओदनं पचति 'he cooks rice;' (the verb not denoting 'motion') nor in अग्नेन व्रजति (the verb not denoting 'the object.')

Note.—The word *adhvan* includes the synonyms of road (I. 1. 68) as *पन्थानं गच्छति, मार्गं गच्छति.*

Note.—The prohibition applies with regard to the going over or occupying the road; so that where a person from a wrong road goes to the right road, there the fourth case-affix will be employed as *पथे गच्छति.*

चतुर्थी संप्रदाने ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी, संप्रदाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रदाने कारके चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चतुर्थी विधाने तार्क्ष्ये उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ऋषिसंपद्यमाने चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उरवातेन ज्ञाप्यमाने चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हितयोगे चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

13. In denoting the *sampradāna-kāra* (I. 4. 32) the fourth affix or the Dative is employed after the noun.

Ex. *उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति* 'He gives a cow to the teacher' *देवदत्ताय रोचते* 'it pleases Devadatta' (I. 4. 33) *पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृश्यति* (I. 4. 36) 'he desires flowers.'

Vart.—The fourth case-affix should be employed when the sense is that of 'for the purpose thereof' as *यूपाय सारु* 'wood is for making posts.' *कुण्डलाय हिरण्यं* 'gold used for the purpose of making ear-ring.' *रन्ध्रनाय स्थाली* 'pot for the sake of cooking.' *भवहननायोलूखलं* 'mortar for the sake of threshing.'

Vart.—The verb *ह्रूष* and other verbs meaning 'to be fit or adequate for, result in, bring about, accomplish, produce, tend to,' govern the dative case: as, *मूत्राय क्लृयते यन्मागुः* 'the barley gruel tends to produce urine.' So also *मूत्राय संपद्यते जायते वा यन्मागुः.*

Vart.—The fourth case-affix is employed with the force of 'indicating a portent or calamity,' as.

वाताय कपिला विद्युस्तपायाति लोहिनी ॥

पीता वर्षाय विज्ञेया दुर्भिक्षाय सिता भवेत् ॥

'The reddish lightening portends wind, extremely red indicates heat, yellow portends rain and white lightening prognosticates famine.'

Vart.—The fourth case-affix should be employed in connection with the word *हितः* as *गो-योहितं* 'good for cows.'

क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिनः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रिया-अर्थ-उपपदस्य, च, कर्मणि, स्थानिनः. (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च स्थानिनोऽप्युज्यमानस्य धातोः कर्मणि कारके चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

14. The fourth case-affix is employed in denoting the object (karma) of that verb, which is suppressed (sthâni) in a sentence, and which has in construction (upapada) therewith another verb, denoting an action, performed for the sake of the future action (kriyârthe III. 3. 10).

In other words, when the sense of an infinitive of purpose formed by 'tumun' and 'nvul' (III. 3. 10,) is suppressed in a sentence, the object of this infinitive is put in the Dative case.

फलेभ्यो व्रजति = फलान्यावर्तुं व्रजति 'he goes for fruits i. e., to bring fruits.' This debarbs accusative case. So also we have एधेभ्यः व्रजति 'he goes for fuel.' The words क्रियार्थोपपद्य and स्थानिनः are in apposition. The first is a Bahuvrîhi compound of क्रियार्थ + उपपद् and means 'a verb whose upapada denotes the purpose of the action (kriyârtha).' Thus in एधानाहर्तुम् 'to bring fuel'; the infinitive verb आहर्तुम् is क्रियार्थोपपद्, the object of this verb is एधः; when this verb is suppressed, it becomes स्थानिनः; the object of this verb takes the fourth case-affix.

Why do we say 'of the verb whose upadada denotes the purpose of the action?' Observe प्रविश पिडीम् .

Why do we say 'in denoting the object.' Witness एधेभ्यो व्रजति शकटेन 'for fuel he goes with a cart.'

Why do we say 'when suppressed'? Observe एधानाहर्तुं व्रजति .

तुमर्थाच्च भाववचनात् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुम-अर्थात्, च भाव-वचनात्, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुमर्थभाववचनप्रत्ययान्तात् प्रातिपदिकाद्यतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

15. The fourth case-affix is employed after a crude-form which ends in an affix denoting 'condition' (abstract noun, III. 3. 11.) and having the force of the affix tum (or Infinitive of purpose).

Ex. यागाय व्रजति 'he goes to offer a sacrifice' = यष्टुं व्रजति. So also स्थागाय व्रजति, भूतये व्रजति .

The word तुमर्थ means 'having the same significance as the affix तुम्'.

नमःस्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधालंबषड्योगाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमः-स्वस्ति-स्वाहा-स्वधा-भलम्-वषड्-योगात् ; च, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमः स्वस्ति स्वाहा स्वधा भलं वषड् इत्येतेषां चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

16. The fourth case-affix is employed in conjunction with the words namah 'salutation,' svasti 'peace,' svâhâ, svadhâ (terms used in offering oblations to Gods and Pitris respectively), alam 'a match for' 'sufficient for' and vashaṭ a term of oblation.

Ex. नमो देवेभ्यः, स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्यः, स्वाहाग्नेये, स्वधा पितृभ्यः, अलं मल्लो मल्लाव 'Salutation to Gods'; 'peace to the people'; 'svâhâ to fire'; 'svadhâ to the Pitris'; 'an athlete is a match for an athlete' &c. The word अलं includes its synonyms also, as प्रभुः, शुकः &c.; so वषण्डिन्द्राव, वषट्प्रभे .

The च indicates that the Dative will debar Genitive, in spite of II. 3. 73, in the case of these words, though used benedictively; as, स्वस्ति गोभ्यो भूयात् ॥

सन्यकर्मण्यनादरे विभाषाऽप्राणिषु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्य-कर्मणि,
अनादरे, विभाषा, अप्राणिषु, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्वकर्मणि प्राणिवर्जिते विभाषा चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति अनादरे गन्धमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यदेतदप्राणिव्यति तदनावादिभ्यति वक्तव्यम् ॥

17. In denoting the indirect object, which is not an animal, of the verb manya 'to think,' the dative case is optionally employed, when contempt is to be shown.

Ex. न स्वा तृणं तृणाय वा मन्ये 'I do not consider thee worth a straw.' न स्वा वुसं वुसाय वा मन्ये 'I do not consider thee worth a chaff.' Why do we use the word मन्ये? Observe न स्वा तृणं चिन्तयामि . The optional dative will not be employed with the synonyms of the verb मन्यति . So also the sūtra uses the form मन्य with the vikarana दृष्य, indicating that it is Divâdi that governs a dative, and not the Tanâdi मन्; for the latter governs the accusative only, as न स्वां तृणं मन्ये .

When contempt is not meant, the verb does not govern the Dative, as:—

अभ्रानं दृष्यं मन्ये, मन्ये काष्ठमुज्जूलम् । अन्धायास्तं सुतं मन्ये यस्य माता न पश्यति ॥

'I consider a rock to be a stone, I consider mortar but as wood, I consider him to be the son of a blind woman whose mother cannot see.'

So also when the object of comparison is an animate being, it will not take the dative:—as न स्वां शृगालं मन्ये 'I do not consider thee even as a jackal.' The case of न स्वां शूने मन्ये is an exception.

Vart:—Instead of using अप्राणिषु in the sūtra, the word अनावादिषु should be used. The following words belong to Nāvâdi class, they are always in the accusative after the word मन्ये, never in the Dative:—नौ 'ship,' काक 'crow,' अन्न 'food,' शुक 'parrot,' and शृगाल 'jackal.'

कर्तृकरणयोः स्वतीया ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-करणयोः तृतीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि करणे च कारके तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तृतीया विधाने प्रकृत्यादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

18. In denoting the agent (I. 4. 54) or the instrument (I. 4. 42), the third case-affix is employed.

Ex. देवदत्तेन कृतं 'done by Devadatta,' शस्त्रेण क्षुनाति 'he cuts with the sickle.' So also, यज्ञदत्तेन भुक्तम्, परशुना क्षिनति ॥

Vart.—The following words take the 3rd case. प्रकृति 'original,' प्रायः 'almost,' गोत्र 'gotra,' सम 'equal,' विषम 'unequal,' द्विद्रोण, पंचक and साहस्र as प्रायेण याज्ञिकः, गार्ग्येऽस्मि गोत्रेण, समेन or विषमेण धावति, द्विद्रोणेन क्रीणाति &c.

सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहयुक्ते, अप्रधाने, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहाथेन युक्तेऽप्रधाने तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

19. When the word सह 'with,' is joined to a word, the latter takes the third case, when the sense is that the word in the third case is not the principal but the accompaniment of the principal thing.

Ex. पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता 'the father has come with the son.'

The same will be the result with the synonyms of सह as, पुत्रेण साह्ये 'with the son.' So also when the word सह is understood, as Pāṇini himself uses in I. 2. 65 वृद्धो युना &c.,

Why do we say 'when not the principal.' Observe, शिष्येण सहोपाध्यायस्वगौः .

येनाङ्गविकारः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ येन, अङ्ग-विकार, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येनाङ्गेन विकृतेनाङ्गिनो विकारो लक्ष्यते ततस्तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

20. By whatsoever limb, being defective, is pointed out the defect of the person, after that the third case-affix is employed.

As, अङ्गणा कायः 'blind of one eye' पादेन खंजः 'lame of foot.' पाणिना कुण्डः &c. The word aṅga in this sūtra applies to the whole body, whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is defective is indicated here.

इत्थंभूतलक्षणे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्थंभूत-लक्षणे, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कश्चित्प्रकारं प्राप्त इत्थंभूत, ततस्प्रलक्षणमित्थं भूतलक्षणं, ततस्तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

21. Any mark or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition, is put in the third case to express this relation.

जटाभिस्तापसः 'he is an ascetic by (the fact of his having) matted hair.' भवि भगन् कमण्डलुना छाननम्राक्षीत् 'your honor might see the student by the fact of his having a kamaṇḍalu.' So also ज्ञानेणोपाध्यायन् 'a teacher by the fact of having students.' शिष्या परित्राजकम् 'a Parivrājaka by a tuft of hair.' But not so here, कमण्डलुपाणिछानः 'a student has kamaṇḍalu in his hand.' Because here in the compound कमण्डलुपाणि is hidden the mark.

Why do we say ittha-bhuta? Observe वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतनं।

संज्ञोऽन्यतरस्यां कर्मणि ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-ज्ञः, अन्यतरस्यां, कर्मणि, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वस्य जानातेः कर्मण कारकं द्वितीयायां प्राप्तायामन्यतरस्यां तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

22. After the verb sam-jñâ the third case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the object.

पित्रा or पितरं संजानीते 'he knows his father.' मात्रा or मातरं संजानीते ॥

हेतौ ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतौ, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलसाधनयोग्यः पदार्थो लोके हेतुरुच्यते; तद्वाचिनस्त्वृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

23. When a word denotes 'cause,' it takes the third case affix.

विद्यया यशः 'by learning there is produced fame.' धनेन कुलम् 'by wealth, family; ' कन्यया शोकः 'by daughter there is grief.'

The word हेतु here is used in its popular sense and not the grammatical hetu (I. 4. 55). Any thing capable of accomplishing a desired object is called hetu.

कर्तव्येण पञ्चमी ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्तरी, ऋणे, पञ्चमी, (हेतौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तव्येण यदृणं हेतुस्ततः पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

24. A word, implying debt, considered as a 'cause' but not as a kartri or agent, takes the fifth case-affix.

Ex. सताद्वद्धः 'he has been bound on account of a debt of a hundred pieces.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting the agent?' Observe गुणेन बन्धितः; 'a debt of hundred has thrown him in prison'; here गुण being considered as a prayojaka hetu, is an agent and takes the third case-affix.

विभाषा गुणेऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, गुणे,
अस्त्रियाम्, (हेतौ पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणे हेतावलीलिङ्गे विभाषा पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

25. The fifth case-affix is employed optionally when the noun expresses an attribute, being the cause of an action, and not being of the feminine gender.

Ex. जाड्येन जाड्यताम् वा बद्धः 'he has been bound by reason of his dullness.' पांडित्येन or पांडित्याद् मुक्तः 'saved through learning.'

Gūṇa-vachana nouns are generally abstract nouns. Therefore not here धनेन कुञ्जम्. If an abstract noun is of feminine gender, this rule will not apply, as बुद्ध्या or प्रज्ञया मुक्तः 'he was set at liberty on account of his skill or wisdom.'

षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोगे ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, हेतु-प्रयोगे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुगुणस्य प्रयोगे हेतौ द्योत्ये षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

26. The sixth case-affix is employed after a noun implying the cause of an action, when the word hetu is used along with such a word.

Ex. अन्नस्य हेतौ वसति 'he dwells for the sake of food.'

सर्वनाम्नस्त्वृतीया च ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनाम्नः तृतीया,
च, (हेतुप्रयोगे) (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्नो हेतुगुणप्रयोगे हेतौ द्योत्ये तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति षष्ठी च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निमित्तकारणहेतुषु सर्वासां प्रायस्दर्शनम् ॥

27. After a sarvanāman (I. 1. 27) when it signifies the cause of an action, and the word hetu is used with it, the third case-affix is employed, as well as the sixth.

Ex. कस्य or कोन हेतुना वसति 'for the sake of what does he live?' यस्य or येन हेतुना वसति .

Vart;—When the words निमित्त or कारण are so used, almost all the case affixes may be employed; as किं निमित्तं or कोन निमित्तेन or कस्य निमित्तात् or कस्य निमित्तस्य or कस्मिन् निमित्ते वसति . Similarly with the words

kāraṇa and hetu. Here also the word हेतु does not mean the word-form hetu (I. 1. 68) but its synonyms also; as किं प्रयोजनं or केन प्रयोजनेन or कस्मै प्रयोजनाच्च &c., वसति .

अपादाने पञ्चमी ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने , पञ्चमी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपादाने कारके पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पञ्चमीविधाने ह्यवज्ञेपे कर्मण्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणे चोपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रमाख्यानयोश्च पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यतश्चाध्वकालनिर्माणं तत्र पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तद्युक्ताकाराले सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भध्वनः प्रथमा सप्तमी च वक्तव्या ॥

28. When the Apādāna-kāraka (I. 4. 24) is denoted, the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. ग्रामाद्वागच्छति 'he comes from the village' (I. 4. 24); वृक्षेभ्यो विभेति (I. 4 25), अभ्ययनात् पराजयते (I. 4. 26) &c.

Vart:—The fifth case-affix is employed in denoting the object, when the verbal participle ending in ह्यर् is elided; as प्रासादात् प्रेक्षते = प्रासादात् प्रेक्षते 'he sees from a palace.'

Vart:—And under similar circumstances in denoting the location the place where an action is performed is put in the ablative case, as, आसने उपविश्य प्रेक्षते = आसनात् प्रेक्षते 'he sees from a seat.'

Vart:—In questions and answers, the fifth case-affix is employed:—कुतो भवान्? पाटलिपुत्राद् 'whence is your Honor coming? From Patali putra.'

Vart:—That point of time or space from which distance in time or space is measured is put in the ablative case:—as, गण्डीधूमतः सांकार्यं चत्वारि योजनानि 'Sankāsyā is from Gavidhuma four yojanās.' कार्त्तिक्या आग्रहायणी मासे 'Agrahāyana is one month from Kārtika. The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case, as मासे .

Vart:—In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative; as गण्डीधूमतः सांकार्यं चत्वारि योजनानि or चतुर्षु योजनेषु ।

अन्यारादितरत्तदिक्शब्दाञ्चत्तरपदाजाहियुक्ते ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥
अन्य-आरात्-इतर-ऋते-दिक्शब्द-अञ्च-उत्तरपद-आच्-आहियुक्ते , (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्य आरात् इतर ऋते दिक्शब्द अञ्चत्तरपद आच् आहि इत्येतेषां पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

29. When a noun is joined with words meaning 'other than' or with *ârât* 'near or remote' or *itara* 'different from' or *pitô* 'without,' or words indicative of the 'directions' (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having *añchu* 'to bend' as the last member of the compound (and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix *âch* or *âhi* (V. 3. 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. *अन्यो, निनी, इतरो, अयान्तं, विज्जणो वा देवदत्तात्* 'different from Devadatta' *भारात् देवदत्तात्* 'remote from or near to Devadatta.' The word *ârât* meaning 'near or remote' would have taken the sixth case-affix by *sûtra* 34, but this enjoins 5th case-affix. *ऋते देवदत्तात्* 'excepting Devadatta.' *पूर्वो ग्रामात्* 'east of the village,' *उत्तरो ग्रामात्* 'north of the village,' *पूर्वो ग्रीष्मात् वसन्तः* 'the spring is prior to summer' *प्राक् मर्यादा ग्रामात्* 'to the east or west of the village' *दक्षिणा दक्षिणाहि वा ग्रामात्* 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village.'

The words like *प्राक्* &c., formed from the verb *añchu* are also *विकल्पः*; their separate enumeration shows that the sixth case-affix ordained by the next *sûtra* does not come after them.

षष्ठ्यतसर्थप्रत्ययेन ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, अतसर्थ-
प्रत्ययेन ॥

वृत्तिः अतसर्थेन प्रत्ययेन युक्ते षष्ठो विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

30. The sixth case-affix is employed when used in connection with words ending with affixes having the sense of the affix *atasuch* (V. 3. 28).

The affix *अतस्तुच्* is ordained by V. 3. 28.

Ex. *ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः पुरस्तात् उपरि वा* 'to the south or north, fore most, in or above the village.'

एनपा द्वितीया ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ एनपा, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एनवन्यतस्यामदूरे षष्ठ्यस्या इति वक्ष्यति । तेन युक्ते द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

31. With a word ending with the affix 'enap' (V. 3. 35), the second case-affix is employed as well as the sixth.

Ex. *दक्षिणेन ग्रामम् ग्रामस्य वा* 'south of the village.'

पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृथग्-
विनः-नानाभिः , तृतीयां , अन्यतरस्याम् , (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृथक् विना नाना इत्येते यौगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति अन्यतरस्यां पञ्चमी च ॥

32. When joined with the words *prithak* 'without,' *vinā* 'without' and *nānā* 'without' the third case-affix is employed, optionally (as well as the fifth and the second).

Ex. रामाद्रामेण रामं वा विना पृथग् नाना वा 'without or different from Rāma.'

This sūtra may be divided into two parts:—(1) पृथग् विना नानाभिः (2) तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् . By this arrangement we can read *dvitiya* into the aphorism.

विना घातं विना वषं विद्युत्प्रपतनं विना ।

विना हस्ति कृतान्दोषान् कोनेमौ पतितौ द्वौ ॥

करणे च स्तोकात्पठच्छ्रुतिपयस्याऽत्त्ववचनस्य ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥
करणे , च , स्तोक-अल्प-कृच्छ्र-कतिपयस्य , असत्त्ववचनस्य , (तृतीया-
पञ्चमी-अन्यतरस्यां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोक अल्प कृच्छ्र कतिपय इत्येते-योऽसत्त्ववचनेभ्यः करणे कारकोऽन्यतरस्यां तृतीया भवति पक्षे पञ्चम्येव ॥

33. When expressing an instrument-kāraḥ, optionally after the words *stoka* 'little,' *alpa* 'little,' *kṛichchra* 'difficulty,' and *katipaya* 'some,' the fifth case-affix is used, when they do not denote material objects.

Ex. स्तोकात् स्तोकेन वा मुक्तः and अन्यान्मुक्तः or अल्पेनमुक्तः &c. 'he got off easily &c. But स्तोकेन विषेण हतः, अल्पेन मधुना मत्तः &c. 'killed by a little poison.' No option allowed, as it qualifies a substance. So also स्तोकां मुञ्चति 'he loosens a little.' Here स्तोक is used as an adverb and not as an instrument (करण) .

दूरान्तिकार्थैः षष्ठ्याऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूर-अन्तिक-
क-अर्थैः , षष्ठी , अन्यतरस्याम् , (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरान्तिकार्थैः शब्दैर्यौगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति अन्यतरस्यां पञ्चमी च ॥

34. When in conjunction with words having the sense of *dūra* 'distant,' and *antika* 'near,' the sixth case-affix is optionally employed.

Ex. ग्रामाद् ग्रामस्य वा वनं दूरं विप्रकृतं, अन्तिकं, अभ्याशां, निकटं समीपं वा 'the forest is distant from or near to the village.'

The force of the word अन्यतरस्यां is to indicate that the 5th case-affix employed in the alternative, would have run into this sūtra, had we not used 'anyatarasyam.'

दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यो द्वितीया च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूर-अन्तिक-
अर्थेभ्यः, द्वितीया, च, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति चकारात्पञ्चमी हतीवापि समुचीयते ॥

35. After the words having the sense of *dūra* 'distant,' and *antika* 'near,' the second case-affix is used as well as the fifth and the third.

Ex. दूरं दूराद् दूरेण वा ग्रामस्य and अन्तिकत्, अन्तिकेन or अन्तिकं ग्रामस्य .

This rule applies only when these words have their original signification and do not denote a substance. Otherwise the proper case-affix should be employed, as दूरः पन्थाः, दूराव पथे रेहि .

सप्तम्यधिकरणे, च, ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, अधिकरणे,
च, (दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवत्यधिकरणे कारके चकारा दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सप्तमीविधाने क्तस्येन्विपयस्य कर्माद्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साध्रसाधुप्रयोगे च सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कारकार्हाणं चा कारकत्वे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अकारकार्हाणं चा कारकत्वे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तद्विपर्यासे च सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निमित्तारक्रमसंयोगे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

36. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location (I. 4. 45) as well as after the words meaning 'distant' or 'near'.

Ex. कटे आस्ते 'he sits on the mat' अन्तिके दूरे वा ग्रामस्य 'near or distant from the village.' स्यास्यां वृत्ति 'he cooks in the pot.' Thus the words दूर and अन्तिक take four case-affixes, namely the second, third, fifth and seventh.

Vart:—Words like अधीतिन् 'who has learnt,' गृहीतिन् 'who has comprehended;' i. e., words formed by adding इन् to the past participle in क्त, govern the locative of that which forms their object:—as अधीती व्याकरणे 'versed in Grammar.' परिगणित्वा यज्ञिके 'well versed in sacrificial rites.' भाष्यान्ती छन्दो 'well read in the Veda.' See V. 2. 88.

Vart:—The words साधु and असाधु govern the locative of that towards whom goodness or otherwise is shown; as मातरि साधुरसाधु वा 'well behaved or ill-behaved towards his mother.'

Vart:—The Locative absolute is used in cases other than those specified in the next sūtra, namely, in cases where the action done or suffered does not indicate the time of another action; as ऋद्धेषु भुञ्जानेषु हरिद्रा भासते 'the poor are sitting, while the rich are eating,' हरिद्रेषु भासनेषु ऋद्धा भुञ्जते 'the rich are eating, while the poor being seated.' So also *vice versa*.

Vart:—The Locative is sometimes used to denote the object or purpose for which anything is done; as.

धर्मणि द्वीपिनं हन्ति , इतयोर्हन्तिकंजरम् ।

केशेषु चमरीं हन्ति सोमि पुष्कलको हतः ॥

'Man kills the tiger for his skin, the elephant for his tusks, the chamari cow for her hair, and the musk-deer for its musk.'

यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य , च , भावेन , भाव-लक्षणम् , (सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावः क्रिया । यस्य च भावेन यस्य च क्रिययाक्रियान्तरे ज्ञेयते ततो भाववतः सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

37. By the action (bhava) of what-soever, the time of another action is indicated, that takes the seventh case-affix.

This is Locative Absolute. गोषु दूह्यमानासु गतः 'the cows being milked, he went away' दुग्धास्तागतः 'and returned when they were milked' अग्निषु दूयमानेषु गतः , हुतेष्वागतः .

Why do we say 'by the action of whatsoever'? Observe यो जडाभिः स भुञ्क्ते . Why have we used the word 'action' twice? Witness यो भुञ्क्ते स वदन्नः .

षष्ठी चानादरे ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी , च , अन्-अःदरे , (सप्तमी , भावेन भावलक्षणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनादराधिके भावलक्षणे भाववतः षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ विभक्ती भवतः ॥

38. The sixth case-affix is employed (as well as the seventh), when disregard is to be shown, after that by whose action the time of another action is indicated.

This is Genitive Absolute. रुदतः रुदति वा प्रात्राजीन् 'in spite of her weeping, he went away.' The force of this genitive is that of the English words 'not-with-standing' 'in spite of' 'for all,' &c., नन्दाः पश्यन् इव हताः पश्यतो राजसख्य 'the

Nāndas were killed like so many beasts, Rakshasa looking on,' (not-withstanding that Rakshasa was looking on).

स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥
स्वामिन्-ईश्वर-अधिपति-दायाद-साक्षिन्-प्रतिभू-प्रसूतैः, च, (षष्ठी सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वामिन् ईश्वर अधिपति शयाद साक्षिन् प्रतिभू प्रसूत इत्येतेषां षष्ठी सप्तमी विभक्तौ भवतः ॥

39. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after words when they are joined with svāmin 'master,' īśvara 'lord,' adhipati 'ruler,' dāyāda 'an heir,' sākshin 'witness,' pratibhū 'a surety,' and prasūta 'begotten.

गवां गोषु वा स्वामी or ईश्वर 'master of cows.' So also गवामधिपतिः or गोषुधिपतिः, गवां शयादः or गोषु शयादः, गवां or गोषु शाक्षी, प्रतिभू &c.

These words naturally would have governed the Genitive; the present sūtra ordains Locative as well.

आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुक्त-
कुशलाभ्यां, च, असेवायाम्, (षष्ठी सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुक्तो व्यापारिनः कुशलो निपुणः ताभ्यां योगे भासेवायां गम्यमानायां षष्ठी सप्तम्यो विभक्तौ भवतः ॥

40. In conjunction with the words āyukta 'engaged,' and kuśala 'skilful,' when meaning entire absorption in an engagement, the sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after a word.

Ex. आयुक्तः कुशलो वा कटकरणे कटकरणस्य वा 'deeply absorbed in mat-making.'

When not meaning 'deeply absorbed,' the construction is different; as आयुक्तो गौ शकटे 'the cow is slightly yoked to the cart.' Here the seventh case-affix only is employed.

यतश्च निर्द्वारणम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यतः, च, निर्द्वारणम्,
(षष्ठी-सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यतो निर्द्वारणं ततः षष्ठीसप्तम्यो विभक्तौ भवतः ॥

41. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class).

Ex. गवां गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुक्षीराः 'among cows the black one gives much milk.' मनुष्याणां or मनुष्वेषु क्षत्रियः गुरुतमः .

A nirdhāraṇa or specification is made by separating one from the many by reason of its genus, quality and action (II. 2. 10).

पञ्चमी विभक्ते ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी , विभक्ते , (यतश्च निद्वारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन्निद्वारणाभये विभक्तमस्ति ततः पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥ विभागो विभक्तं ॥

42. The fifth case-affix is employed when the thing specified is different or divided from (and not included in) that from which specification is intended.

This debars the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रेभ्यः सुकुमारतराः 'Mathura is more beautiful than Pātaliputra.'

साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्षायां सप्तम्यप्रतेः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साधु-निपुणाभ्यां , अर्षायाम् , सप्तमी-अप्रतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साधु निपुण इत्येताभ्यां योगेऽर्षायां गम्यमानायां सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति न चेत्, प्रतिः प्रयुज्यते ॥

43. In conjunction with the words 'sādhu 'good,' and nipuṇa 'skillful,' when they denote respect, the seventh case-affix is employed; provided that the word prati is not used.

मातरि साधुः or निपुणः 'good behaved towards his mother'? But साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good behaved towards his mother.'

Why do we say 'when respect is denoted'? Observe, साधुर्देवदत्तः 'the servant is good towards the king.' Here it is a bare statement of a fact.

The exception applies not only to प्रति but to other prepositions, like परि , अनु &c., as, मातरं परि साधुर्देवदत्तः ॥

प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च , ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रसित-उत्सुकाभ्यां , तृतीया , च , (सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रसित उत्सुक इत्येताभ्यां योगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति चकारात्सप्तमी च ॥

44. In conjunction with the words prasita 'longing for,' and utsuka 'greatly desirous of,' the third case-affix is used after a word, as well as the seventh.

Ex. निद्रायां निद्रया वा उत्सुकः 'longing for sleep.' कोशैः or कोशेषु प्रसितः

नक्षत्रे च लुपि ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रे, च, लुपि, (द्वितीया
सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुबन्तान्नात्तन्नात् द्वितीयासप्तम्यो विभक्ती भवतः ॥

45. When an affix declaring the time of an Asterism is elided by lup (IV. 2. 4); the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided.

Ex. पुष्येण पुष्ये वा वायसमग्रीयात् 'when the moon is in the Asterism of Pushya, let him drink milk.' See Rules IV. 2. 4 and IV. 2. 5. So also मयाविः पल्लोदनं मयासु पञ्जलोदनम्. But not so here पंचालेषु वसति 'he lives in Panchāla'. Here the country is meant, and not a star, though here also there is elision of the Taddhita affix.

Why do we say 'lup elision'? Observe मयासु महः 'the planet in the Maghā.' Here there is no elision. But why not in अयमुच्चः, अयकृत्तिका. Because they do not denote location, which is understood. It is when location is expressed by such words that we may use the third case-affix in the alternative.

प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥
प्रातिपदिक-अर्थ-लिङ्ग-परिमाण-वचन-मात्रे, प्रथमा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रातिपदिकार्थमाने लिङ्गमाने परिमाणमाने वचनमाने प्रथमा विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

46. Where the sense is that of the Nominal-stem (I. 2. 45) or of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. उच्चैः 'aloft,' नीचैः 'below,' कुमारी 'virgin,' वृक्षः 'tree,' कूडं 'owl,' द्रोणः 'a measure'. By 'number' grammatical number is meant; as एकः 'one,' द्वौ 'two,' बहवः 'many'.

The sense of a Prātipadika is to denote mere existence. Genders are three, masculine, feminine and neuter. Measures are such as droṇa, khāri, āḍhaka &c.. Numbers are singular, dual and plural. The Nipatas which do not denote anything are also Prātipadika.

संबोधने च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संबोधने, च (प्रथमा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबोधने च प्रथमा विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

47. And when the sense is that of addressing, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. हे राम 'O Ram' हे रामो, हे रामाः ॥

साऽऽमन्त्रितम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सआमन्त्रितम् (सम्बोधने प्रथमा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबोधने या प्रथमा तदन्तं शब्दरूपमामन्त्रितसंज्ञं भवति

48. The word ending with the first case-affix, in the sense of addressing, is called Amantrita or vocative (VIII. 2 .78).

एकवचनं संबुद्धिः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः , (आमन्त्रितम् प्रथ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितप्रथमाया यदेकवचनं तत्संबुद्धिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

49. In the sense of vocative, the singular number of the first case-affix is called Sambuddhi.

The vocative singular is called sambuddhi, when it is employed in the vocation. Thus VI. 1. 69 declares 'after an inflection base ending in एह् or in a short vowel, a consonant is elided if it be that of Sambuddhi' as हे राम ॥

षष्ठी शेषे ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी , शेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मादि-योऽन्यः प्रातिपदिकार्थस्यतिरिक्तः स्वस्वामिसंबन्धादिः शेषस्तत्र षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

50. The sixth case-affix is employed in the remaining cases, that is to say, where there is a sense, such as the relation between property and its owner, &c. different from that of a word related to a verb and from that of a Nominal-stem.

Ex. राज्ञः पुरुषः 'the king's man' पशोः पादः 'beast's foot' पितुः पुत्रः 'father's son.'

ज्ञोऽविदर्थस्य करणे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञः, अविदर्थस्य , करणे , (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरविदर्थस्याज्ञानार्थस्य करणे कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

51. Of the verb ज्ञा jñā, when not used in the sense of 'to know,' the instrument takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मधुनो जानीते 'he engages in sacrifice with honey'. So also सर्पिनो जानीते. The verb ज्ञा when not meaning 'to know', has the significance of

'to act, or to engage in;' or it may denote 'false knowledge'; as, सर्षिषि रक्तः प्रसिद्धो वा . Compare I. 3. 45.

But not so here स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he recognises the son by the voice.'

अधीगर्धदयेयां कर्मणि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-इक्-अर्थ-इय-ईशां, कर्मणि , (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधीगर्धः स्मरणार्थाः । इव हानगतिरक्षणेषु । ईश ऐश्वर्ये । एतेषां कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

52. Of the verbs having the sense of 'remembering,' (adhīk) and of daya 'to give,' 'to pity' 'to protect,' 'to move,' and of īśa 'to rule or be master of,' the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मातुः अभ्यति 'he remembers the mother,' सर्षिषो दयते 'he gives clarified butter,' नायं गात्राणामीदृते 'he can not rule his limbs.' But not so here मातुर्गुणेः स्मरति because गुण here is not the object. The word शेष is also understood here. So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case. So that मातुर् स्मरति is also allowed.

कृजः प्रतियत्ने ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः , प्रतियत्ने , (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेः कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते प्रतियत्ने गम्यमाने षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

53. The object of the verb kri takes the sixth case-affix, when it means 'to impart a new quality or virtue' (I. 3. 32).

Ex. एधोवक्रस्योपस्कृते 'the wood gives a new quality to the water' (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice). (By VI. 1. 139, च is inserted).

When प्रतियत्न is not meant, the second case-affix is employed: as कर्तं करोति .

The word शेष is also understood here. So that we have also एधोवक्रम् पस्कृते ॥

रुजापानां भाववचनानामज्वरे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुज-अर्थानां , भाववचनानाम् , अज्वरे , (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुजापानां धातूनां भाववचनानां भावकर्तृकाणां उदरिबर्जितानां कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अज्वरि संताप्योरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. The object of verbs having the sense of *ruj* 'to afflict,' with the exception of the Causative verb *jvaraya* 'to be feverish,' takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (i. e., when the subject is an Abstract noun).

Ex. चौरस्य रुजति रोगः 'the disease afflicts the thief' चौरस्यामयति भाग्यः ।

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun?' Observe नदी कूजति रुजते 'the river breaks the banks.' So also not here चौरं ज्वरयति ज्वरः 'the fever burns the thief.' So also when the verb संताप is used, चौरं संतापयति तापः ।

The word चौर is also understood here. Thus चौरं रुजति रोगः ॥

आशिवि नाथः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिवि, नाथः (कर्मणि शेवे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाथ् नाथ् याञ्चोपतापैश्वर्याशीःषु पठ्यते, तस्याशीःक्रियस्य कर्मणि कारके शेवे स्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

55. Of the verb *nâth* when meaning 'to bless'; the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मधुनो नाथते 'he blesses the honey.' But माणवकमुपनायति, भंग पुत्री-काधीभ्र 'he solicits mānavaka saying (child) son, study.' Here नाथ does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case.

जासिनिप्रहणनाटकाथपिषां हिंसायाम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जासि-निप्रहण-नाट-काथ-पिषां, हिंसायाम्, (कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जासि निप्रहण नाट काथ विष् इत्येतेषां धातूनां हिंसा क्रियाणां कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

56. The object of the verbs *jâsi* 'to strike'; 'to hurt,' *han* 'to strike' preceded by *नि* and *प्र*, *nâṭ* 'to injure,' *krâth*, and 'pish,' when they mean, 'to injure,' takes the sixth case-affix.

चौरस्य योज्जासयति, निरहन्ति, निहन्ति, प्रहन्ति, प्रणिहन्ति, उचाटयति, काथयति, पिनष्टि वा, 'he injures the thief.'

The root *जसु* belonging to the Churadi class should be taken, and not *Divâdi*. *हन* with the prepositions *pra* and *ni* may be taken in any order. The root *क्रय्* takes in the causative *vridhhi* irregularly. This verb is *Bhvâdi* and falls into the subdivision *ghatâdi*, and is called there a *मित्* verb; all *मित्* verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix *यिष्* (VI. 4. 92). Thus *काथ* is an irregularity.

Why do we say 'when meaning to injure? Observe धानाः विनष्टि 'he pounds the barley.'

The word चोष is also understood here as चौरमुञ्जासयति . Only these govern the genitive, not so here चौरं दिनस्ति , चौरं विहन्ति ॥

व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवहृ-पणोः , समर्थयोः
(कार्मेणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्यह पण इत्येतयोः समर्थयोः समानार्थयोः कर्मण्य कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

57. The object of the verbs vyavahri and paṇ when they are synonymous, that is when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. शतस्य व्यवहरति or पणते 'he deals in, or stakes hundred.'

Why does not the verb पण take the affix भाद्? It takes भाद् when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c. Not so here गुलाकां व्यवहरति 'he throws the dice,' ब्राह्मणान् पणायते 'he praises the Brahmanas.' The word चोष is also here understood, so that we have शतं पणते 'he stakes a hundred.'

दिवस्तदर्थस्य ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः , तदर्थस्य । (व्यवहृपणोः
समर्थयोः कर्मण्य षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहृपणिसमानार्थस्य दीव्यतेः कर्मणि षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

58. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. शतस्य दीव्यति 'he stakes or deals in hundred.' But not in ब्राह्मणं दीव्यति 'he jokes with the Brahmana.'

The yoga vihbāga, when this root might well have been included in the last aphorism, is for the sake of the succeeding sūtras, in which the anuvrtti of दिव runs, and not of others.

विभाषोपसर्गे ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा , उपसर्गे , (दिवस्त-
दर्थस्य कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे सति दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

59. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking, optionally takes the sixth case-affix, when it is preceded by an upasarga (or preposition).

Ex. शतस्य शतं वा प्रति हीयति 'he deals in or stakes a hundred.' But no option is allowed when the verb is simple as in the last aphorism ; nor does this rule apply when the sense is not that of dealing or gambling. As, गुणाकां प्रति हीयति 'he throws the missile.'

द्वितीया ब्राह्मणे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया , ब्राह्मणे , (द्विव-
स्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणविषये प्रयोगे दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि क्कारके द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

60. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking' takes the second case-affix in the Brahmana literature.

Ex. गामस्य तद्गः सभायां हीय्येयुः (Maitr. S. 1. 6. 11) In the Vedic literature the simple verb div takes the accusative instead of the genitive. And with upasarga it is optional. The anuvṛitti of the word शेष does not extend to this sūtra, or the following.

प्रेष्यद्ब्रुवोर्हविषो देवतासंप्रदाने ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रेष्य-ब्रुवोः ,
हविषः , देवता-संप्रदाने (षष्ठी कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेष्यद्ब्रुवोर्हविषः कर्मणः षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति देवता संप्रदानेऽसति ॥

61. The object of the verb preshya and brūhi (imperative singular of Divâdi verb, meaning 'send' and 'utter,') denoting sacrificial food, takes the sixth case-affix, when making offerings to deity is meant or when deity is the recipient.

Ex. अग्नये छागस्य हविषोवपाया मेदसोऽनृद्ब्रूहि प्रेष्य वा 'send to fire as oblation, the goat, the fat, and the marrow.' But not here:—अग्नये छागं हविषं पां मेदो ब्रूहि . Because the verb is not preshya or brūhi. So also not here अग्नये गोमयान् प्रेष्य . Because it is not an oblation. Not here too माणवकाय पुरोडाशां प्रेष्य . Because the recipient is not a diety. Compare VIII. 2. 91.

Vart:—This rule does not apply when the word प्रस्थित 'set out' qualifies the word हविः as; इन्द्राग्निभ्यां छागं हविषं पां मेदः प्रस्थितं प्रेष्य 'send to Indra and Agni the oblation set out for them' &c.

चतुर्थ्यर्थे बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी-अर्थे , बहुलं ,
छन्दसि (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये चतुर्थ्यर्थे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति बहुलम् ॥

वार्तिकम् । षष्ठ्यर्थे चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

62. In the chhandas the sixth case-affix is employed diversely with the force of the fourth case-affix.

Ex. पुरुषमृगधन्द्रमसः or चन्द्रमसे 'to the moon, a male deer.' गोधा कालका वावाँ घाटस्ते वनस्पतीनाम् or वनस्पतिभ्यः 'to you lords of the forest, are lizard, kálaka bird, &c. So also वायुरसमा उपा मन्यत् (R. Ved. X. 136. 7).

Why do we say 'diversely?' Observe कृष्णोराश्वे, हिमवतो हस्ती .

Vart:—In the Veda, the 4th case-affix is employed in the sense of the sixth: as या खर्वेण पिबति तस्यै खर्वोजायते 'who soever woman drinks with a woman in her courses, gets herself in menstrea. So also या दतो भावति तस्यै श्यावदन् 'who cleans her teeth, her teeth become black.' या नखानि कुन्तति तस्यै कुन्खः 'who pairs her nails, her nails become ugly.' So on, in याऽङ्केतस्यै काणः याऽभ्यङ्केतस्यै दुश्भा , या केशान् प्रलिखति तस्यै खलति ॥ अहल्यायै जारः (T. S. 2. 5. 1. 7).

यजेश्च करणे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजेः, च, करणे, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजेर्धातोः करणे कारको छन्दसि बहुलं षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

63. The sixth case-affix is diversely employed in the chhandas in denoting the instrument of the verb yaj 'to sacrifice.'

Ex. घृतस्य or घृतेन यजते 'he sacrifices with butter.' सोमस्य or सोमेन यजत ॥ कृत्वोऽर्थप्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्वो-अर्थप्रयोगे, काले, अधिकरणे (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्वोऽर्थानां प्रत्ययानां प्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

64. The sixth case-affix is employed in denoting location (adhikarāṇa) after a word denoting time (kāla), when used along with a word ending with an affix having the sense of kritvasuch (V. 4. 17) 'so many times.'

Ex. पंचकृत्वोऽहोभुंक्ते 'he eats five times a day.' In short, 'words meaning so many times, or the numeral adverbs of frequency, govern the genitive of time in the sense of locative.' As द्विरहोऽधीते 'he studies twice in a day.'

Why do we say 'having the force of कृत्वसुच्?' Observe अह्नि शेते 'he sleeps in the day.'

This rule will not apply when the adverb of frequency is understood, not expressed (prayoga) as in अहनि भुंक्तम्. Nor when the time is not meant, as द्विः कांस्यापात्र्यां भुंक्ते 'he eats in two brass vessels.' So also when location is

not meant: as द्विरहो भुंक्ते . The शेष being understood we have द्विरहन्यधीते .

कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-कर्मणोः , कृति ।

(षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्प्रयोगे कर्त्तरि कर्मणि च षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

65. The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a kṛit affix (III. 1. 93).

Ex. क्रियां कालिदासस्य 'the composition of Kalidāsa.' भारता क्रतूनां 'the performer of sacrifice.' So also भदतः श्रायिका 'your turn of lying down.' भपां सप्ता , पुरां भेत्ता वज्रस्य भर्ता . But not in शस्त्रेणभेत्ता 'cutting with weapon.'

Why do we say 'kṛit?' Not so when a Taddhita-affix is employed as कृतपूर्वाकटं . In other words, the genitive in Sanskrit is both subjective and objective.

उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि ॥ ६६ ॥ उभयप्राप्तौ, कर्मणि, (कृति षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उभयोः प्राप्तिसिद्धिर्नृति सोऽयमुभयप्राप्तिस्तत्रकर्मण्येव षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति , न कर्त्तरि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भक्ताकारयोः स्त्री प्रत्यययोः प्रयोगे नेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शेषे विभाषा ॥

66. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the words formed by kṛit-affixes, are both used in a sentence, in the object only, the sixth case-affix is employed, and not in the agent (the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent).

आश्वर्य्यो गवां शोहोऽगोपालकेन 'the milking of a cow without a cowherd is a wonder.' रोचते मे ओदनस्य भोजनं देवदत्तेन 'The eating of rice by Devadatta pleases me;' पयसः पानं यज्ञदत्तेन 'the drinking of milk by Yajñadatta.'

Vart:— When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, when, as some say, the kṛit terminations are of the feminine gender, or as others say, when the terminations are of any gender; as, विश्विना जगतः कृतिर्हेरेर्हेरिणा वा 'the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful.' शब्दानामनुशासनमाचार्य्येण आचार्य्यस्य वा 'the dissertation on words by the āchārya' विश्विनाहि सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः or पाणिनिना 'beautiful is the structure of sūtra by Panini.' Apte.

क्तस्य च, वर्त्तमाने ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तस्य, च, वर्त्तमाने (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तस्य वर्त्तमानकालविहितस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नृपुंसके भाषउपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शेषविज्ञानात् सिद्धम् ॥

67. The past participle ending in क्त when used in the sense of the present tense, (III. 2. 187 and 188) is used with the genitive.

Ex. राज्ञां पूजितः 'honored by kings,' अहमेवमवो महीपतेः 'I alone am regarded by the king.'

Why do we say 'क्त'? Observe ओदनं पचमानः 'rice is cooked.' Why do we say 'when denoting the present tense'? Observe ग्रामं गतः 'gone to the village.'

Vart:—When used as abstract neuter nouns, past participles are used with the genitive, as मयूरस्य नृतनं 'the dancing of a peacock.' छात्रस्य हसितं 'the laughing of the students.' कौकिलस्य व्याहृतम् 'the screaming of the cuckoo.' When, however, agent is desired to be particularised, the instrumental case is employed: as छात्रेण हसितम् .

This sūtra debaras sūtra 69 by which genitive is prohibited after Nishṭhā affixes. This is an exception to that sūtra.

अधिकरणवाचिनश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणवाचिनः , च ;
(षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाधिकरणे चेति वक्ष्यति तस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

68. The past participle in क्त is used with the genitive when the former expresses location (III. 4. 76).

This also is an exception to the prohibition about Nishṭhā contained in II. 3. 69. As इदमेवामासितम् 'this is their seat.' इदमेवां शयितं 'this is their sleeping.'

In connection with verbs taking two objects, both take the genitive case, when a word ending in क्त affix denotes the agent, as they would have taken the accusative: as, नेताऽग्रस्य ग्रामस्य चैत्रः 'Chaitra is the leader of the horse of the village.' When, however, one is the principal, then the object takes the genitive: as, नेताऽग्रस्य ग्रामं चैत्रः , 'Chaitra leads the horse to the village.'

न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थतृनाम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ल-उ-उक्त-
अव्यय-निष्ठा-खलर्थ-तृनाम् , (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल उ उक्त अव्यय निष्ठा खलर्थ तृन् इत्येतेषां प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उक्त प्रतिषेधे कर्मभाषायामप्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययप्रतिषेधे तौसुन्कसुनोरप्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विषः शसुर्वा वचनम् ॥

69. The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle ending in the affix ल, or उ, or उक्, or by an Indeclinable, or by a Past Participle in क् and क्वत्, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of खल् or by a Noun of agency formed by त् ॥

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the Agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object. This sūtra debar Genitive which would have come by II. 3. 65. The word लोक् is formed by ल + उ + उक् = ल + ऊक् = लोक् .

1. The word ल means 'the substitutes of ल i. e., the Present Participles in श्त्, शानच् (III. 2. 124), कानच् (III. 2. 106) क्सु (III. 2. 107) क्ति and क्तिन् (III. 2. 172). Thus ओदनं पचन्, पचमानः, पचानः or पचिवान्, पपिः सोमम्, इदिर्गाः ॥

2. The affix उ is enjoined by III. 2. 168, as, कटं विकीर्षुः, ओदनं बुभुक्षुः ॥ The prohibition applies when a word ending in इष्णुच् (III. 2. 136) is the governing term; as, कन्यामलंकरिष्णुः ॥

3. The affix उक् is ordained by III. 2. 154: as भागामुक् वराणसीं रत्न आहुः ॥

Vart:—But the word कानुक् in secular Sanskrit, governs the Genitive, as दास्याः कामुक्: 'lusting for the slave.'

4. Indeclinables formed by क्त affixes, as, कटं कृत्वा, ओदनं भुङ्क्त्वा ॥ *Vart*:—This prohibition, however, does not apply to the indeclinables formed by तेषुन् (III. 4. 16) and कसुन् (III. 4. 17), as, पुरा सूर्यस्वीदेतोराधेयः, पुरा क्रूरस्य विष्टो विष्णिन् (I. 1. 40).

5. Nishṭhā i. e., क् and क्वत्; as ओदनं भुङ्क्वान् देवदत्तेन कृतम् .

6. The words formed by खल्य affixes (III. 3. 126), as, ईषत्करो भवता कटः, ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता .

7. The त् in the aphorism is a pratyāhāra, formed by taking the त् of श्त् (III. 2. 129) and the final न् of त्त् (III. 2. 135), meaning the affixes शानन् (III. 2. 128), चानरा (III. 2. 129), श्त् (III. 2. 130) and त्त् (III. 2. 135). As सोमं पचमानः, नटमात्रानः, अधीयन्, पारायणन्, कर्ता कटान्, वदिता जनापवादान् .

Vart:—Optionally so, when the root द्विष् takes the affix श्त्, as, चौरं or चौरस्य द्विषन् ॥

अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्षयोः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक-इनोः, भविष्यद्-आधमर्षयोः (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकस्य भविष्यात् कान्ने विहितस्येनस्तु भविष्यति चाधमर्ष्यं च विहितस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्न भवति ॥

70. The sixth case-affix is not used when the word is governed by a verbal noun in अक denoting futurity, or in इन् denoting 'futurity and indebtedness.'

The affix अक, such as एवुञ्ज, वुञ्ज &c., denote futurity, and never denote indebtedness. The affix इन् such as णिनि (III. 3. 3 and 170) denotes both. Thus कटं कारको ब्रजति 'he goes to make a mat.' औदनं भोजको ब्रजति 'he goes to eat rice.' So also with इन्, as, ग्रामं गमी or गामी 'he has to go to the village.' शतं दायी 'he owes hundred.'

Why do we say 'when denoting futurity or indebtedness'? Observe यवानां लावकः 'the cutter of barley.' सक्तूनां पावकः, भवश्यं करी कटस्व ॥

Why is the Genitive employed in the following बर्षशतस्य पूरकः, पुत्रपौत्रानां वृशकः? The words पूरक and वृशक, though formed by अक (III. 1. 133), are not formed by that अक which denotes futurity, *vis.*, III. 3. 10. The present sūtra relates to this latter अक, and not every अक in general.

कृत्यानां कर्त्तरि वा ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यानां, कर्त्तरि, वा,
(षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानां प्रयोगे कर्त्तरि वा षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति, न कर्मणि ॥

सार्त्तिकम् ॥ उभयप्राप्तौ कृत्ये षष्ठ्या प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

71. The sixth case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the agent, (but not the object), when the word is governed by a Future Passive Participle (kṛitya).

By II. 3. 65, verbal nouns, (kṛit-formed), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object. The present sūtra declares an option as to agents only, in the case of those verbal nouns which are Future Passive Participles. Thus भवतः or भवता कटः कर्त्तव्यः (III. 1. 95).

Why do we say 'in denoting the agent'? In denoting the object, no option is allowed; the Genitive is compulsory. As गेयो मानवकः साम्नाम् ॥

Vart.—The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus कृष्टव्या ग्रामं शाखा देवदत्तेन, नेतव्या पाममजा देवदत्तेन ॥

तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥
तुल्य-अर्थैः, अतुल-उपमाभ्यां, तृतीया, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्यार्थैः सन्दर्भयोगे द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवत्यन्यतरस्यां, पक्षे षष्ठी च, तुलोपमा शब्दो वञ्चित्तिरा ॥

72. The third or the sixth case-affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning 'like to, or resemblance'; excepting तुला and उपमाः.

Thus तुल्यो देवदत्तेन or देवदत्तस्य, सद्गुरो देवदत्तेन or देवदत्तस्य ॥ But with तुला and उपमा the Genitive must necessarily be employed. As तुला देवदत्तस्य नास्ति, उपमा कृष्णस्य न विद्यते ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of च was understood in this sūtra from the previous sūtra, yet the repetition of अन्यतरस्याम् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. The word च in II. 3. 73 attracts the word अन्यतरस्याम् into that sūtra ; but had the word अन्यतरस्याम् not been used in this sūtra, then the word च would have attracted the word द्वितीया instead, which is not desired.

On this sūtra, Professor Apte says:—‘Pāṇini says that the words तुला and उपमा can not be used with the Instrumental. But this is against good usage: as, तुलां यसारोहति इतवाससा (Kum. Sam. V. 24), नभसा तुलां समारोह (Raghuvaṃsa VIII. 15). स्फुटोपमं भूतिवितेन शंभुना (Māgh I. 4).’

चतुर्थी आशिष्यायुष्यमद्रभद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥
चतुर्थी, च, आशिषि, आयुष्य-मद्र-भद्र-कुशल-सुख-अर्थ-हितैः, (अन्यतर-
स्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायाम् आयुष्य मद्र भद्र कुशल सुख अर्थ हित इत्येतैर्यागे चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति । चकारो विकल्पानुकारणार्थः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अत्रायुष्यादीनां पर्यायग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

73. The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words āyusha ‘long life,’ madra ‘joy,’ bhadra ‘good fortune,’ kuśala ‘welfare.’ sukha ‘happiness,’ artha ‘prosperity,’ and hita ‘good.’

The च in the sūtra makes the employment of Dative optional : in the alternative we have Genitive.

Vart:—In this sūtra आयुष्य &c., include their synonyms also.

Thus आयुष्यं देवदत्ताय भूयात् or आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य भूयात् ॥ Similarly चिरं जीवितं, मद्रं, भद्रं, कुशलं, निरामयं, सुखं, शं, अर्थो, प्रयोजनं, हितं पठ्यं देवदत्ताय or देवदत्तस्य भूयात् ॥

Why do we say when ‘benediction is intended’? Observe आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य तपः ‘the austerity is the cause of the long life of Devadatta.’ Here there is no option allowed: and the Genitive case is only employed.

ओ३म्

॥ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK II.

CHAPTER IV.

द्विगुरेकवचनम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगुः । एक-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुः समासः एकवचनं भवति ॥

1. The compound Dvigu (II. 1. 52) is singular in number.

The word एकवचन is a genitive Tat-purusha compound meaning 'the expression for one,' that is to say, it expresses the sense of unity. The rule therefore, enjoins that the sense inherent in a Dvigu compound is that of unity.

This is confined to Samāhāra Dvigu i. e., an aggregate compound taken in a collective sense. As, पञ्चयव 'an aggregate of five cows,' पञ्चपत्नी (IV. 1. 21.). The sense of Dvigu being that of one, it follows that it retains the singular number even when further modified by other affixes, and used as an attributive and though no longer a Dvigu; as, पञ्चपत्नीयं शोभना ॥

द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वः , च, प्राणि-
तूर्य-सेना-अङ्गानाम् (एकवचनं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राणयङ्गानां द्वन्द्व एकवचनं भवति, तथातूर्याङ्गानां सेनाङ्गानां च ॥

2. A Dvandva compound too is singular in number, when it is compounded of words signifying members of the animal body, players (or singers or dancers) and component parts of an army.

As, प्राणिपादम् 'the hand and foot' शिरोशीर्षं 'the head and neck' मारुङ्गिक-
पाणविक्रम् 'players on the mridaṅga and panava (kinds of drums)' रथिकारुचरोहम्
'the soldiers on chariot and horse.' शीशावाह रूपरिवाहकम्, रथिकपादावम् ॥

This rule applies to cases of Samāhāra Dvandva or aggregate Dvandva Compounds only; and not to Itaretara Dvandva (II. 2. 29.)

In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses &c., the singular is optional; (II. 4. 12.) The present rule also gives us an index as to where we must make Samāhāra Dvandva and where an Itaretara Dvandva. The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal body, players or army, are always and solely Samāhāra Dvandva. The compounds of words like इषिपवसी 'curd and milk' (II. 4. 14) are purely Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samāhāra Dvandva; while compounds of words denoting tree, animals &c., (II. 4. 12.) are optionally either Samāhāra or Itaretara Dvandva.

अनुवादे चरणानाम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुवादे, चरणानाम् ।

(द्वन्द्वः, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणानां द्वन्द्व एकवचनवृत्ति, अनुवादे गम्यमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्येणोरद्यतन्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. A Dvandva compound of words signifying persons belonging to the different Vedic-Schools when the sense is that of repetition, is singular.

The word चरण means a school or branch of any of the Vedas designated by the name of the person who founded such a branch and hence means such a person. The word अनुवाद् means repetition by way of explanation, illustration or corroboration; that is to say, when a speaker demonstrates for some special purposes, a proposition which had already been demonstrated before, that is called anuvāda.

This aggregate is used with the aorist of the roots स्या and इद् only; as उद्गात् कठकालापम् 'kaṭha and kālāpa arose (again, further demonstrating their doctrines)'; प्रत्ययत् कठकौयुमम् 'kaṭha and kauthuma established again.'

Why do we say 'when meaning repetition'? Observe उद्गुः कठकालापाः or प्रत्ययुः कठकौयुमाः, when demonstration for the first time is meant. It is the aorist of स्या and इन् which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or any other tense of these verbs; as:—अनन्दिषुः कठकालापाः and उद्द्यन्ति कठकालापाः.

Note:—This sūtra is translated thus by Mr. Iyengar, 'Aggregation alone is admissible between words denoting persons belonging to the different charaṇas of the Vedas, when they are used along with the aorist derived from the roots sthā and iñ, in the sense of recitation of the charaṇas as already learnt, as distinguished from learning them the first time.' Prof. Bohthlingk's translation is, 'The Dvandva Compound of the names of Vedic-Schools is singular, when such a school is repeatedly mentioned equally along with another.'

अध्वर्युऋतुरनपुंसकम् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्वर्युऋतुः, अ-नपुंस-
कम् । (द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वर्युऋतुवाचिनां शब्दानामनपुंसकलिङ्गानां इन्द्र एकवद्भवति ॥

4. A Dvandva compound of words denoting sacrifices (kratu) ordained by the Yajur (Adhvaryu) Veda, is singular, provided they are never used in the neuter gender.

As, अर्काश्वमेधम् 'the Arka and Aśvamedha sacrifices,' सायाह्नातिरात्रम् 'the Sāyāhna and Atirātra sacrifices.'

Why do we say 'Yajur-veda sacrifices? Observe इषुवज्जी 'the Ishu and Vajra ceremonies,' उद्भिद्वज्जभिहो ॥

Why do we say 'when not in the neuter gender'? Observe राजसूयवाजपेयो 'the Rājasūya and Vājapeya sacrifices.'

Why have we इन्द्रपौर्णमासी? Because the word ऋतुः is a technical term applying only to Soma-sacrifices and not any sacrifices in general. Therefore, though Darśa and Paurṇamāsa are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule does not apply.

अध्ययनतोऽविप्रकृष्टाख्यानाम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्ययनतः, अवि-
प्रकृष्टाख्यानाम्, (द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्ययनेन निमित्तेन येषामविप्रकृष्टा प्रत्यासन्ना भाख्या तेषां इन्द्र एकवद्भवति ॥

5. A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular.

As, पदकक्रमकम् 'a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement; so also क्रमकवार्तिककम्.

Why do we say 'order of study'? Observe पितापुत्रौ 'father and son.' Why do we say 'not remote'? See याज्ञिकवेद्याकरणौ 'sacrifice-knower and the grammarian.'

जातिरप्राणिनाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातिः, अप्राणिनाम्,
(द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचिनां शब्दानां इन्द्र एकवद्भवति, प्राणिनो वर्जयित्वा ॥

6. A Dvandva compound of words signifying jāti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular.

Thus भारगुस्त्रि 'the probe and the knife'; धानाशुक्लि 'fried rice and barley cake.'

Why do we say 'words denoting genus'? Observe नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यौ 'Nandaka and Pāñchajanya.'

Why do we say 'not of living being'? See ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियो "Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas.'

This rule applies to the jāti or genus names of substances (द्रव्यजाति) and not the jāti names of qualities and actions. (गुणक्रियाजाति), Thus रूपरसगन्धस्पर्शाः 'colour, savour, odour, and tangibility'; गमनाकुञ्चनप्रसारणानि 'going, contraction and expansion.'

Even with jāti names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class; when, however, the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed; as, इह कुण्डे बदरामन्नकानि तिष्ठन्ति 'in this bowl are the badari and āmalaki fruits.'

The words जाति 'genus,' द्रव्य 'substance,' गुण 'quality' and क्रिया 'action' are technical terms of Indian Logicians. Jāti has already been explained. Substances are nine: earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind. Qualities are twenty-four: colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, dimension, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscosity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty. There are five actions: throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expansion and going.

विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदी देशोऽग्रामाः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशिष्ट-लिङ्गः,
नदी, देशः, अग्रामाः, (६०९०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशिष्टलिङ्गानां भिन्नलिङ्गानां नदीवाचिनां शब्दानां देशवाचिनां च ग्रामवर्जितानां इन्द्र एकवचनवृत्तिः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भ्रामा इत्यत्र नगराणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उभयतश्च ग्रामाणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. A Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and countries, but not of towns, is singular.

Thus गंगाशोणम् 'the Ganges and the Sona.' कुरुवः + कुरुक्षेत्रं = कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रं 'the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra.' उद्ध्यौरावती कुरुकुरु जाङ्गलम् ॥

Why do we say 'of different genders'? Observe गंगायमुने 'the Ganges and the Yāmuna.' Both being feminine gender, so also मन्नकोक्याः ॥

Why do we say 'rivers and countries'? Observe कुङ्कुटमयुर्वी 'the hen and the pea-hen.'

Why do we say 'not of a town'? See जाम्बवद्यालुकिन्वी, Jambaba and Sálukinī' which are the names of two villages or grāma.

We have taken the word 'river,' as the word 'country' does not include 'river.' So also 'mountains' are not included; as कैलासगन्धमादने 'the Kailāsa and the Gandhamādana.'

Vart:—The prohibition extends to villages and towns (grāma) but not to cities, (Nagara), as मथुरापाटलिपुत्रं 'the cities of Mathura and Pātaliputra.'

Vart:—When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies; as सौर्यकेतवते 'the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavata.'

क्षुद्रजन्तवः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुद्र-जन्तवः, (द्वन्द्व एकवचनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुद्रजन्तु वाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवचनम् ॥

8. A Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular.

Thus यूकालिन्तम् 'the louse and the nit'; शंशुण्डकम् 'the bug and the mosquito.' The word क्षुद्रजन्तु means an animal of a very small size. Some say that animals not having bones are called क्षुद्रजन्तु, (invertebrates); others say, those which are small in size; others say, all below the mongoose are kshudrajantu.

येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ येषां, च, विरोधः, शाश्वतिकः (द्वन्द्वः, एकवच०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येषां शाश्वतिको विरोधस्तद्वाचिनां चञ्चानां द्वन्द्व एकवचनम् ॥

9. A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only among whom there is permanent enmity i. e., natural and eternal antipathy or quarrel, is singular.

The word विरोध means enmity; and शाश्वतिकः means permanent. ३

Thus, मार्जारभूषकम् 'the cat and the rat'; श्वशुण्डकम् 'the dog and the jackal'; भङ्गिकुलं 'the snake and the mongoose.'

Why do we say 'natural and eternal'? Observe गोपाल्यालंकायनाः कलहायन्ते 'Gaupāli and Sālankāyana are quarrelling.'

The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of एव 'only.' Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular; no other rule, even

if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds. Thus rule 12 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular. That rule (by 1. 4, 2.) would have set aside the present rule. But च prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war; as अश्वमहिषम्. 'the horse and the buffalo'; काकोलूकम् 'the crow and the owl.'

शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ शूद्राणाम्, अ-निरव-
सितानाम्, (द्वन्द्वः, एकवच०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिरवसितशूद्रवाचिनां घट्टानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

10. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of Sûdras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular.

Thus, तन्नायस्करम् 'the carpenter and the blacksmith'; रजकतन्तुवायम् 'the washerman and the weaver.'

The word अनिरवसित means one not expelled (from the dish).

A Sûdra who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel, is called an Anirvāsita Sûdra .

Why do we say 'not expelled'? Observe चण्डालमृतपः 'the Chandāla and the Mritapa.'

गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ गवाश्व-प्रभृतीनि, (एक-
वचनम्, द्वन्द्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि कृतैकवद्भावानि द्वन्द्वरूपाणि साधुनि भवन्ति ॥

11. The word gavaśva, and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number.

Thus गवाश्वम् 'the cow and the horse.' So also गवाविकम् .

गवाश्ववाचिः

1. गवाश्वम्. 2. गवाविकम्. 3. गवैडकम्. 4. भजाविकम्. 5. भजै-
डकम्. 6. कुञ्जवामनम्. 7. कुञ्जकोरातकम्. 8. पुत्रपौत्रम्. 9. श्वचण्डालम्. 10.
स्त्रीकुमारम्. 11. दासीभाण्डकम्. 12. शास्त्रीविच्छकम्. 13. उष्ट्रखरम्. 14. उष्ट्रश-
शम्. 15. मूत्रशकृत्. 16. मूत्रपुरीषम्. 17. यकूननेडः. 18. मांसशोणितम्. 19.
सर्भशरम्. 20. सर्भयुतीकम्. 21. भर्जुनशिरीषम्. 22. दण्डोलपम्. 23. दासीदासम्.
24. कुटीकुरम्. 25. भगवतीभागवतम्.

Vart:—In this list, the forms as given, are singular; but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number. As गोश्वम् or गोश्वौ. In this form of गो and अश्व the next rule applies and option is allowed.

विभाषा वृक्षमृगतृणधान्यव्यञ्जनपशुशकुनिश्ववहवपूर्वापराधरोत्त-
राणाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वृक्ष-मृग-तृण-धान्य-व्यञ्जन-पशु-शकुनि-
अश्ववहव-पूर्व-अपर-अधर-उत्तराणाम्, (६८९०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृक्ष मृग वृण धान्य व्यञ्जन पशु शकुनि भववहव पूर्वपर अधरोत्तर इत्येतेषां
द्वन्द्वो विभाषकवदति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुप्रकृतिः फलसेना वनस्यतिमृगशकुनिसुप्रजन्तुधान्यवृणानाम् ॥

12. A Dvandva compound of words being the names of trees, wild animals, grass, corn, condiment, domestic beasts and birds, and the compounds aśva-vaḍava, purvā-para and adharottara, are optionally singular.

12 Thus, वृक्षान्यमोधम् or वृक्षान्यमोधाः 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees'; रुरुष्यतम् or रुरुष्यताः 'the Ruru-deer and the spotted antelopes'; कुशाकाशाः 'the Kuśa grass and the Kāsa grass'; ब्रीहियवम् or ब्रीहियवाः 'the rice and the barley' इषिचूतम् or ऐ 'the curd and the butter' गौमहिषम् or पाः 'the cow and the buffalo'; तित्तिरिक्पिञ्जलम् or जः 'the Tittiri (a kind of part-ridge) and the Kapinjala birds'; भश्ववहवम् or वाः 'the horse and the mare'; पूर्वापरम् or रे 'the first and the last'; अधरोत्तरम् or रे 'the upper and lower.'

Vart:—The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals, grain and grass, is singular, when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of; that is when a large number of them is taken collectively, the compound is singular, otherwise not; as, बदरामलके तिष्ठतः 'a badari and an āmalaki fruit are here'; रथिकाभारोहो 'a charioteer and a horseman'; वृक्षान्यमोधो 'a Plaksha and a Nyagrodha tree'; रुरुष्यनो 'a Ruru and a Prishata deer'; हंसचक्रवाको 'a Hansa and a Chakravaka bird'; यूकान्निभे 'a louse and a nit'; ब्रीहियवो 'a brihi and yava grain'; कुशाकाशो 'the kuśa and kāsa grass.

विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विप्रतिषिद्धं,
च, अनधिकरण-वाचि, (विभाषा ६९१०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विप्रतिषिद्धार्थानां शब्दानामनधिकरणवाचिनामग्रस्यवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवदवधि
विभाषानुर्कषणार्थं शकारः ॥

13. A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

Thus शीतोष्णम् or शीतोष्णे 'cold and heat'; सुखदुःखं or सुखदुःखे 'pleasure and pain'; ज्योतिमरणं or ज्योतिमरणे 'life and death.'

The word विप्रतिषिद्धं means words of contrary significations. च indicates the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' from the last sūtra.

Why do we say 'of contrary significations'? Observe, कामक्रोधौ 'lust and anger,' which are not of contrary significations.

Why do we say 'not being the names of substances'? Observe शीतोष्णो उदके 'cold and warm waters,' which denote substances.

न दधिपय आदीनि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दधिपयः, आदीनि (द्वौ ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधिपय आदीनि शब्दरूपाणि नैकवद्भवन्ति ॥

14. The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipayā' &c., are not singular.

Thus दधिपयसी 'the curd and the milk'; सर्पिर्मधुनी or मधुसर्पिणी 'the clarified butter and the honey.'

With this sūtra begins prohibition of singular number which previous sūtras would have caused.

The following is a list of such compounds:—

1. दधिपयसी . 2. सर्पिर्मधुनी or मधुसर्पिणी . 3. ब्रह्मप्रजापती . 4. शिव-वैश्रवणौ . 5. स्कन्दविशाखौ . 6. परिव्राट्कौशिकौ . 7. प्रद्युम्नोपसहौ . 8. शुक्रकृष्णौ . 9. इध्मावर्हिणी ॥ निपातनादीर्घः ॥ 10. वीजातपसी . 11. अज्ञातपसी . 12. वेधातपसी . 13. अध्ययनतपसी . 14. उलूखलमुसले . 15. आद्यावसाने . 16. अद्भामेधे . 17. चरकसाने . 18. वाङ्मनसे .

अधिकरणैतावत्वे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-एतावत्वे, च, (न द्वौ ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणं वर्त्तिपदार्थः, स हि समासस्यार्थस्याधारः तस्यैतावत्त्वे परिमाणे सम्यमाने द्वन्द्वो नैकवद्भवति ॥

15. A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (etavatva) of concrete things (adhikarāṇa) is not singular.

As, दश दन्तोष्ठाः 'ten sets of teeth and lips'; दशमार्दङ्गिकापाणविकाः 'ten sets of drum and panavika players.' Compare II. 4. 2.

विभाषा समीपे ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा समीपे, (अधिकरणैतावत्वे, द्वन्द्वः एकवत् ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणैतावत्त्वस्य समीपे विभाषा द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

16. A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

As, उपरस्ये दन्तोष्ठे or उपरसा दन्तोष्ठा: 'nearly ten i. e., nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips'; उपरस्यं मार्हेङ्गिकपाणविकम् or उपरसा मार्हेङ्गिकपाणविका: 'nearly ten (nine or eleven) mridaṅga and panava players.'

An indeclinable, when compounded with a numeral, may either be a Bahuvrīhi or an Avyayibhāva compound. When the compound is singular in form, it is Avyayibhāva, and when it takes proper number-terminations, it is Bahuvrīhi compound. As, उपरसा; उपरसा: (II. 2. 25).

स नपुंसकम् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, नपुंसकम् (एकवचनम्, द्वन्द्वः, द्विगुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्यायमेकवद्भावो विहितः स नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति द्विगुर्ग्रन्थ ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अकारान्तो न रपदो द्विगुः स्त्रियां भाष्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाऽऽवस्तः स्त्रियामिष्टः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भनो नलोपश्च वा च द्विगुः स्त्रियाम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पात्रादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

17. It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules, is always a neuter gender.

As, दशपदम् 'an aggregate of ten cows,' पाणिपादम् 'hands and feet.' शिरोशीर्षम् 'head and neck.'

This sūtra debars the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member. See II. 4. 26.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short अ, is employed in the feminine gender only; as पञ्चपुत्री, दशरथी .

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a feminine word ending in भाव् affix, is optionally feminine; as, पञ्चलक्ष्मि or पञ्चलक्ष्मी .

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a word ending in भम्, is optionally feminine and the व is elided; as, पञ्चतप्तम् or पञ्चवत्ती .

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in पात्र &c., पञ्चपात्रम्; चतुर्भुगम्; त्रिभुवनम् .

अव्ययीभावश्च ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययी भावः, च, (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावश्च समासो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुण्यसुदिनाभ्यामङ्गः स्त्रीवर्तेत्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पयः संख्याव्ययादेः स्त्रीवर्तेत्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाविशेषणानां कर्मत्वं नपुंसकलिङ्गता च वक्तव्या ॥

18. An Avyayîbhâva (II. 1. 6.) compound is also neuter gender.

Thus, अधिलि 'pertaining to a woman'; so also, उपकुमारि, उष्मत्तगंगम् &c.

But for this rule, an Avyayîbhâva compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable, and which is the principal member in the compound; or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal.

The force of च is to include cases not mentioned already.

Vart:—Neuter gender is employed after the word भद्र preceded by पुण्य or सुदिन; as पुण्यहम् 'sacred day'; सुदिनाहम् 'lucky day.'

Vart:—The word पथ is neuter when compounded with a numeral or an Avyaya; as निपथम्, चतुष्पथम्, विपथम्, सुपथम्.

Vart:—Adverbs, qualifying verbs, are put in the neuter gender (and accusative case); as मृदु पचति 'he cooks mildly,' शोभनं पचति 'he cooks well.'

तत्पुरुषोऽनञ्कर्मधारयः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः, अनञ्कर्मधारयः (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नप्तसमासं कर्मधारयं च वर्जयित्वाऽन्यस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

19. A Tat-purusha compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle नाञ्, and of the Karmadhâraya compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following sūtras.

This is a governing sūtra and regulates the sense of the succeeding aphorisms which show when a Tat-purusha may be neuter. Thus, ब्राह्मणसेनम् or नः (II. 4. 25); but दृष्टेनो राज्ञा (the compound not being Tat-purusha); भसेना (it being a compound with नञ्=अ); and परमसेना (it being Karmadhâraya).

संज्ञायां कन्योऽशीनरेषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, कन्या, उशीनरेषु. (तत्पुरुषः नपुंसकं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये कन्यान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति, सा चेत् कन्या उशीनरेषु भवति ॥

20. When denoting an appellative, a Tat-purusha compound ending with the word kanthâ 'town,' is neuter in gender, provided that it is the name of a town situated in the country of the Uśînaras..

As, *सौमिकन्यम्* 'the town of Sauśami'; *आह्वरकन्यम्* 'the town of Ahwara.'

When not an appellative, the form is different; as, *वीरणकन्या*. So also if the town is not in the country of the Uśīnaras; as *सप्तिकन्या*.

This debars the rule (II. 4. 25.) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term. (For accent see IV. 2. 124.)

**उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदाद्याविख्यासायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपज्ञा-
उपक्रमं, तद्-आदि-आविख्यासायाम् (तत्पुरुषः, नपुंसकम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति तदाद्याविख्यासायां तयो-
रुपज्ञोपक्रमयोरारेताविख्यासायां गम्यमानात् ॥

21. A *Tat-purusha* compound ending with the words '*upajñā*' (invention) and '*upakrama*' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work which is first invented or commenced.

As, *पाणिन्युपज्ञनाकाज्ञापकं व्याकरणम्* 'the grammars Kalāpa &c., had their commencement with Pāṇini's invention'; *व्याद्युपज्ञं दुष्करणं* 'Vyādi-invented *Dushkaraṇa*'; *आर्योपक्रमं श्राद्धः* 'the palace is an invention of rich folks.' *मन्दोरक्रमणि श्रानानि* 'the measures are the invention of king Nanda.'

Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed; as *देवदत्तोत्तरो रथः* 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' *यज्ञदत्तोपक्रमो रथः* 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta.' So also the sense may be that of invention &c., but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used; as *वाल्मीकिसृजोक्ताः* 'the slokas invented by Vālmiki.' N. P. Prof. Bohnlingk gives *पाणिन्युपज्ञनकाज्ञकं व्याकरणम्* 'The Grammar omitting the time of day is the work invented by Pāṇini, (VI. 2. 14.)

**छाया बाहुल्ये ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छाया, बाहुल्ये, (तत्पुरुषः,
नपुंसक) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ छायान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति बाहुल्ये गम्यमाने ॥

22. A *Tat-purusha* compound ending with the word *chhāyā* 'shadow' is neuter in gender when the sense is that of profuseness of the thing indicated by the first term.

Thus, *शुलभच्छायम्* 'A crowd of locusts darkening the sky.' *सुख्वादम्* 'the sugarcane shade i. e., groves of sugarcane.' Otherwise, *कुड्यच्छाया* 'the shadow of a wall.' (VI. 2. 14, accent.)

The sūtra 25 gives optional neuter; this rule enjoins invariable neuter when chhâyâ has the sense of profuseness.

सभा राजानुष्यपूर्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभा, राजा-मनुष्य-पूर्वा (तत्पुरुषनपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति, सा चेत् सभा राजपूर्वा मनुष्यपूर्वा च भवति ॥

23. A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word sabhâ 'court' is neuter, provided that it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word Râjâ, or by a word denoting a non-human being.

As इनसभम् 'the King's Court.' ईश्वरसभम् 'Lord's Court.'

But in राजसभा 'the King's Court,' the word is not neuter; for synonyms of राजा are only to be taken and not the word-form राजा; an apparent exception to Rule I. 1. 68.

So also रक्षसभम् 'the Court of the Rakshasas.' पिशाचसभम् 'the Court of the Pisâchas.'

But in काष्ठसभा, देवदत्तसभा &c., the word is not neuter; for the word non-human has a technical significance meaning Râkshasa or a monster.

अशाला च ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशाला, च, (तत्पुरुषनपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अशाला च या सभा तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

24. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word sabhâ, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter.

As, स्त्रीसभम्, दासीसभम् 'the concourse of ladies and slaves;' otherwise अनाथसभा 'the poor-house.'

विभाषा सेनासुराच्छायाशालानिधानाम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥

विभाषा, सेना-सुरा-छाया-शाला-निधानाम्, (नपुंसकं, तत्पुरुषः) ॥

वृत्तिः । सेना सुरा छाया शाला निशा इत्येवमन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति विभाषा ॥

25. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words senâ 'army' surâ 'wine,' chhâyâ 'shadow,' śâlâ 'house' and nisâ 'night,' is optionally neuter, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle nañ (II. 2. 6) and the karmadhâraya compound.

As ब्राह्मणसेना, ब्राह्मणसेनम् 'the Brāhmana army,' बन्धुरम्, बन्धुरा 'the barley wine,' कुक्ष्यच्छायम्, कुक्ष्यच्छया 'the shadow of the wall,' गोशालम्, गोशालम् 'the cow house,' स्वनिशम्, स्वनिशा 'tomorrow night.' But असेना 'non-army,' परमसेना 'good army,' the former being negative and the latter karmadhāraya compound. For accent see VI. 2. 14, 123.

परवलिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परवत्-लिङ्गम्,
द्वन्द्व-तत्पुरुषयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य यलिङ्गः तद्वति द्वन्द्वस्य तत्पुरुषस्य च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्विगुप्राप्तापनालपूर्वगतिसमासेषु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

26. The gender of Dvandva or Tat-purusha compound is like that of the last word in it.

This applies to Itaretara Dvandva or coupling by mutual conjunction कुक्षुःमयूर्याविने, 'those two (fem) the cock and the peahen' मयूरीकुक्षुटाविनो 'those two (mas.) the peahen and the cock.' The Samāhāra Dvandva is always neuter. So also in Tat-purusha compound not especially mentioned in the previous aphorism: As अर्द्धपिप्पल्याः, अर्द्धनिप्ली 'half a pippali; अर्द्धकौशान्की.

Vart:—Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) Dvigu compound, (2) compounds with शार, भाषण and, भलं, and (3) compounds with Gati words; as, पंचकपाजः 'Puroḍāsa prepared in five cups'; शायजीविकः (शाय + जीविका) 'has obtained living.' भाषणजीविकः, भलंजीविकः; निष्कौशान्भिः 'gone beyond Kauśambi.

पूर्ववदश्ववदवो ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्ववद्, अश्व-वदवो,
(लिङ्गम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्ववदवयोः पूर्ववलिङ्गं भवति ॥

27. The gender of the compound of the word aśva 'horse' and vaḍava 'a mare,' is like that of the first word in it.

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II. 4. 12; in that case it will be neuter. अश्ववदवाविनो; अश्ववदवान्, अश्ववदवोः &c., (in every number and case) 'those two (mas.) the horse and the mare.' This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound.

हेमन्तशिशिरावहोरात्रे च च्छन्दसि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्त-
शिशिरौ, अहो-रात्रे, च, उन्दसि, (पूर्ववत्, लिङ्गम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशिशिरौ अहोरात्रे शयेवयो उन्दसि विषये पूर्ववलिङ्गं भवति ॥

28. Of the compounds 'hemantaśisīrau' and 'ahoratre' the gender is like that of the first word; in the Chhandas. (vedas).

हेमन्तशिशिराद्दत्तुनां शीतानि , अहोरात्रे इदं ब्रूतः ॥

This aphorism debars the general rule given in II. 4. 26.

This applies to these words in all cases and numbers, not being confined to them in the dual number, though exhibited in the sūtra in the dual number, as:—पूर्वपक्षाभितयः , अपरपक्षाः पुरीषम् , अहोरात्राणीष्टकाः 'The white fortnight is fuel-wood, the black fortnight is the dung-cake, and days and nights are bricks (of the altar of sacrifice).'

Why do we say 'in the Vedas? Observe दुःखे हेमन्तशिशिरे, अहोरात्रादिनौ पुण्यौ . In the Vedas the ordinary rules of gender are often set aside; this is an individual example of the universally exceptional nature of the Vedic language.

रात्राह्नाहाः पुंसि ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्र-अह्न-अहाः , पुंसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रात्र अह्न अह इत्येते पुंसि आप्यन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनुवाकादयः पुंसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. The Dvandva and Tatpurusha compound ending with rātra and ahna and aha are spoken of in the masculine.

These words refer to kṛit and Samāsānta affixes. Thus the word रात्र is formed by रात्रि + अन् (V. 4. 87) अह्न is formed by V. 4. 88 and अह by V. 4. 91. The general rule II. 4. 26 also does not apply here.

द्विरात्रः , त्रिरात्रः 'A space of two or three nights' पूर्वाह्नः , अपराह्नः , मध्याह्नः 'the forenoon, the afternoon and noon', द्वाहः 'two days' त्र्यहः, 'three days.'

Vart:—The words अनुवाक &c., are masculine, as अनुवाकः , चंद्रुवाकः , सूक्तवाकः &c.,

अपथं नपुंसकम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपथम् , नपुंसकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपथ शब्दो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

30. The Tatpurusha word apatham 'a bad road' is neuter.

अपथमिदम् 'this (neuter) is a bad road' अपथानि गाहते मूढः 'the fool roams on wrong roads.' But अपथोरेशः a (masc.) 'a roadless country.' Here the compound being Bahuvrīhi the word is masculine so; also अपथा नगरी ॥

अर्धर्षाः पुंसि च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धर्षाः, पुंसि, च,
(नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ अर्द्धर्षादयः शब्दा पुंसि नपुंसके च भाष्यन्ते ॥

31. The words 'ardharcha' &c., are spoken of in masculine and neuter.

As अर्धर्षः and अर्धर्षम् 'half a verse', गोमयः and गोमयम् 'cow-dung.' These twofold genders sometime, convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter, another. Thus पद्मः 'treasure,' पद्मः or पद्मम् 'lotus', शंखः 'treasure,' and शंखम् or शंखः 'conch-shell,' भूतः or भूतम् 'ghost.' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सैन्यवः or सैन्यवम् 'salt'; but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning 'born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सारः 'best' सारं 'compendium.' So धर्मः and धर्मम्.

1. अर्धर्षः. 2. गोमय. 3. कपाय. 4. कार्षापण. 5. कुतप. 6. कुसप.
7. (कुणप). 8. कपाट. 9. शङ्ख. 10. गृध. 11. यूय. 12. ध्वज. 13. कवच.
14. पद्म. 15. गृह. 16. सरक. 17. कंस. 18. द्विप. 19. यूष. 20. अन्ध-
- कार. 21. इण्ड. 22. कमण्डलु. 23. मण्ड. 24. भूत. 25. द्वीप. 26. छून.
27. चक्र. 28. धर्म. 29. कर्मन्. 30. मोक्ष. 31. शतमान. 32. यान. 33. नख.
34. नखर. 35. चरण. 36. पृच्छ. 37. सा.डम. 38. हिन. 39. रजत. 40. सक्त.
40. पिधान. 41. सार. 42. पाप. 43. पृत. 44. सैन्यव. 45. औषध. 46. भाटक.
47. चपक. 48. द्रोण. 49. खलीन. 50. पानिष. 51. प.डक. 52. वारवाण.
53. (वारवारण) 54. प्रीय. 55. कविष्य. 56. शुष्क. 57. शाल. 58. शील. 59.
- शूक. 60. (शुक्ल). 61. शीघ्र. 52. कवच. 63. रेणु. 64. (जण.) 65. कपट. 66.
- शीकर. 67. मुसल. 68. सुवर्ण. 69. वर्ष. 70. पूर्व. 71. चमत्. 72. क्षीर.
73. कर्ष. 74. आकाश. 75. अष्टापर. 76. मङ्गल. 77. निधन. 78. निर्यास.
79. जम्भ. 80. वृत्त. 81. पुस्त. 82. बुस्त. 83. ह्वे.डित. 84. घृङ्ग. 85. निगड
86. (खल). 87. मूलक. 88. मधु. 89. मूल. 90. स्थूल. 91. शराव.
92. बान. 93. धम. 94. विमान. 95. मुख. 96. प्रदीप. 97. घूल. 98.
- वज्र. 99. कटक. 100. कण्टक. 101. (कर्पट). 102. शिखर. 103. कल्क.
104. (वर्कज). 105. नटमक. 106. (नाटमस्तक). 107. बलब. 108. कुसुम.
109. टण. 110. पङ्क. 111. कुण्डल. 112. किरीट. 113. (कुमुद). 114.
- अर्चुह. 115. अङ्गुश. 116. तिमिर. 117. आश्रम. 118. भूषण. 119. इल्कस.
120. (इन्वास). 121. मुकुल. 122. वसन्त. 123. तटाक. 124. (तडाग).
125. पिटक. 126. विटङ्क. 127. विडङ्क. 128. पिण्ड्याक. 129. माष. 130.
- कीश. 131. फलक. 132. दिन. 133. हैवत. 134. पिनाक. 135. समर.
136. स्थाणु. 137. अनीक. 138. उपवास. 139. शाक. 140. कर्षाव. 141.
- (त्रिशाल.) 142. चवाल. 143. (चखाल.) 144. खण्ड. 145. हर. 146. विटव.
147. (रण). 148. (बल). 149. (मक). 150. घृणाल. 151. हस्त. 152. पार्श्व.

153. हल . 154. (चुष .) 155. ताएख . 156. गाएडीव . 157. मएख . 158. पडह . 159. चौध . 160. चौध . 161. पार्श्व . 162. शरीर . 163. फल . 164. (छल . 165. पुर . 166. पुरा . 167. राष्ट्र . 168. अम्बर . 169. विम्ब . 170. कुद्दि . 171. मण्डल . 172. (कुकुद .) 173. कुडप . 174. ककुव . 175. खण्डज . 176. तोमर . 177. तोरण . 178. मञ्चक . 179. पञ्चक . 180. पुङ्ख . 181. मय . 182. (वाल .) 183. छल . 184. बल्मीक . 185. वर्ष . 186. बल . 187. वसु . 188. वेह . 189. उग्रान . 190. उद्योग . 191. स्नेह . 192. स्तेन . 193. (स्नन .) 194. (स्वर .) 195. संगम . 196. निष्क . 197. क्षेम . 198. शूक . 199. क्षत्र . 200. पवित्र . 201. (यौवन .) 202. (कलह .) 203. मालक . 204. (पालक .) 205. मूषिक . 206. (मण्डल .) 207. (बल्कल .) 208. कुज . 209. (कुञ्ज .) 210. विहार . 211. लोहित . 212. (विषाण .) 213. भवन . 214. भरण्य . 215. पुलिन . 216. दृढ . 217. आसन . 218. ऐरावत . 219. शूर्प . 220. सीर्थ . 221. लोमन . 222. (लोमश .) 223. तमाल . 224. लोह . 225. हण्डक . 226. शपथ . 227. प्रतिसर . 228. हारु . 229. धनुस् . 230. मान . 231. वर्चस्क . 232. कुर्व . 233. तण्डक . 234. मव . 235. सहस्र . 236. भोदन . 237. प्रवाल . 238. शकट . 239. अपराङ्ग . 240. नीड . 241. शकल . 242. तण्डल ॥

इदमोऽन्वादेशोऽनुदात्त तृतीयादौ ॥ ३२ ॥ पद.नि ॥ इदमः ,
अन्वादेशे , अथ , अनुदात्तः तृतीयादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदमोऽन्वादेश विषयस्यादेशो भ.श्चनुदात्तत्तृतीयादौ विभक्तौ परतः ॥

32. In the room of idam 'this,' in case of its re-employment in a subsequent member of the same sentence and referring to the same thing (anvādeśa) there is the substitution of aś which is anudātta i. e., gravely accented, when the third case-affix and the rest follow.

The word अन्वादेश means literally saying (ādesa) 'after' (anu) or after-say or re-employment.

अश् (actually अ) replaces इदम् in all cases except the nominative and the accusative, when anvādeśa or repetition is implied. अश् replaces the whole of इदम् by 55 and not only the final म्. Anvādeśa means repeating in a second sentence with reference to the preceding in which it has already been used. Both pronouns, the antecedent and the subsequent, must refer to the same object. As, आभ्याम् छात्राभ्याम् रात्रिर्धीता , अथो आभ्यामहरप्यधीतम् 'These students studied in the night and they have read in the day also.' The substitute अश् will replace इदम्, even when the latter takes the affix अकञ् (V. 3. 71.)

अस्त्रे छात्राय कन्बलं देहि, अथो अस्त्रे शाकटमपि देहि 'Give this student a blanket and give him also a cloth'. अस्त्रे छात्रस्य शोभनं शीलम्, अथो अस्त्रे प्रभूतं स्वम्, 'this student's conduct is excellent, and his wealth is great.'

So also when the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71) comes after the Pronominal as इमकाभ्यां छात्राभ्यां रात्रिरधीता, अथो आश्यामहरप्यधीतम्.

The mere mentioning in a subsequent sentence is not anvādeśa: it is the employment again of what has been employed to direct one operation, to direct another operation. Therefore the rule does not apply here:—देवदत्तं भोजय, इमं च यज्ञदत्तम् 'feed Devadatta and this Yajñadatta.'

एतदस्त्रतसोस्त्रतसो चानुदात्तो ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतद्, त्र-तसोः त्र-तसो, च, अनुदात्तो, (अन्वादेशे, अश्, अनुदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतदोऽन्वादेशविषयस्य भागेशो भवति अनुदात्तस्त्रतसोः परतः ॥ तौ चापि तसावनुदात्तो भवतः ॥

33. In the room of एतद् in case of its re-employment there is the substitution of the gravely accented अश् when the affixes च (V. 3. 10) and तस् (V. 3. 7) follow, and the affixes च and तस् are anudatta also (gravely accented.)

Thus अत्र 'here,' and अतस् 'hence' in the following:—एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुखं वसामः; अथो अत्र युक्ता अधीमहे । 'We live in this (etasmin) village, happily, therefore let us read with full devotion in this (atra).' एतस्माच्छात्राच्छन्दोऽधीष्व, अथो अतो व्याकरणमप्यधीष्व । 'Learn from this student Prosody and also learn from him Grammar.' By rule V. 3. 5 अश् is declared to be the substitute of एतद्; its repetition here is to indicate that this अश् of anvādeśa is anudatta.

द्वितीयाटोस्त्वेनः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया-टा-ओस्त्सु, एनः, (इदम्, एतद्, अन्वादेशे, अनुदात्ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीया टा ओस् इत्येतेषु परत इवमेतदोऽन्वादेशविषययोरेनशाब्ध भागेशो भवति अनुदात्तः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ एनदिति नपुंसकैकवचने वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. When an affix of the 2nd case or टा (Ins. Sing.) or ओस् (Loc. dual) follows, एन which is anudatta is the substitute of इदम् and एतद् in the case of its re-employment.

The word इहम् is also understood in this sūtra though it was not so in the last. This skipping is technically called 'frog-leap.' Thus:—इन् or एत् छात्रं छन्दोऽद्यापव , भयो एन् व्याकरणमप्यद्यापव 'teach this pupil Prosody, and teach him Grammar also.' अनेन or एतेन छात्रेण रात्रिर्धीता 'भयो एनेनहरप्यधीतम् 'this pupil studied in the night and he studied in the day also.' भनयोः or एतयोः छात्रयोः शोभन् श्रीलम् , भयो एनयोः प्रभूतं स्वं 'the family of these two students is respectable and their wealth is great.'

Vart:—The word एनत्, neuter and singular, is also used in anvādeśa: as, 'इहम् कुण्डमानवम् प्रक्षालयेनत् 'bring this bowl and wash it.' The above three Sūtras regulate the accent only of certain pronouns.

आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्ध-धातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदित् ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रान्तिप्यामस्तदार्द्धधातुके वेदितव्यम् ॥

35. The clause 'when the affix is Ardhadhātuka' is understood in the following aphorisms up to aphorism 58 of this chapter.

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 42, 'that वच् is the substitute of इन् when लिङ् follows.' The words 'when the affix is ārdhadhātuka' must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. The result will be that in the Ardhadhātuka लिङ् namely the आशीर्लिङ् or the Benedictive mood, इन् is replaced by वच्, but not so in the Sārvadhātuka लिङ् i. e., the Potential mood (विधिलिङ्). Thus, Benedictive वच्यात् 'may he kill'; but Potential इन्यात् let him kill.'

The word आर्द्धधातुके is in the 7th case; the force of this case-affix here is not that given in I. 1. 66. i. e., the sūtra does not mean 'when an Ardhadhātuka affix follows.' But the 7th case has the force of indicating the subject, the meaning of the sūtra being 'when the subject is an ārdhadhātuka affix.' The result of this explanation is, that the various substitutions enjoined hereafter should be made first, and then the respective affixes should be applied. Thus whenever we want to affix any Ardhadhātuka-affix to भस् 'to be,' we must first substitute भू for it, and then take the proper Ardhadhātuka-affix which would come with regard to भू. Thus we can apply वत् to भू by rule III 1. 97 which says: 'after verbs ending in vowels वत् is applied.' But this affix could never have been applied to भस् which ends in a consonant. Thus we have भ्यन्. So the substitution does not depend upon any particular affix, but ārdhadhātuka-affixes as a class.

अदो जग्धिर्त्यसि किति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, जग्धिः, स्यप्-ति,
किति, (आर्द्ध-धातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदो जग्धिरादेशो भवति स्वपि परतः सकारादौ च किति प्रत्यये ॥

36. The word जग्धि is the substitute of अद् 'to eat,' when the affix स्यप् (VII.1.37) or an ârdhadhâtuka किति affix beginning with त follows.

प्रकृत्य 'Having eaten.' (य + अद् + स्यप् = य + जग्ध् + त्). So also जग्ध 'eaten' (अद् + क्त = जग्ध् + त्).

The इ in जग्धि is merely for the sake of articulation and is not an anubandha, otherwise there would have been the insertion of the nasal ण (नुन्). So also the इ in इचि &c., is merely for the sake of articulation. But अद् + क्त = भक्षः 'food' is an irregularity.

The employment of स्यप् in this sūtra indicates the existence of this Paribhāṣā. 'A bahiraṅga substitution of स्यप् supersedes even antaraṅga rules.' Because in case this maxim did not exist, the substitution of जग्ध् for अद् before स्यप् which is taught in this sūtra, would follow already from the word किति (before that which is distinguished by an indicatory क्) in this rule, i. e., जग्ध् would (by maxim 'that which is bahiraṅga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is antaraṅga has taken effect') first be substituted for अद् before क्त and स्यप् afterwards for क्त.

Why do we say 'before affixes beginning with त'? Observe भक्षते 'is eaten.'

Why do we say 'before affixes having indicatory क्'? Observe भक्षत्यम्.

लुङ्सनोर्घस्लु ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्-सनोः, घस्लु (अदः,
आर्द्ध-धातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि सनि च परतोऽदौ घस्लु आदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ घस्लुभावेऽप्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

37. When लुङ् (aorist) or सन् (desiderative) follows घस्लु is the substitute of अद् 'to eat.'

भयसन्, भयसताम्, भयसन् 'he ate.' The ल्ळ in घस्लु is servile and indicates the substitution of अद् for च्लि of the Aorist (III. 1. 55,) So also in desiderative, as, जिपसति, जिपसतः जिपसन्ति 'wishes to eat.'

Vart:—The verb अद् is replaced by घस् when the affix भय follows Thus य + अद् + भय = यस् + भय = प्रयसः 'voracious.'

घञ्जपोश्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञ्-अपोः, च, (अदः, घस्लु, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घञि भवि च परतोऽपि घस्लु भावेशो भवति ॥

38. And when the affix घम् and अप् follow घस्लु is the substitute of भद्.

घासः 'food, grass,' भद् + घम् = घास + भ (III. 3. 19). प्रघसः 'voracity.'
प्र + भद् + अप् = प्र + घस .

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलं , छन्दसि , (अदः,
घस्लु, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलमसौ घस्लु भावेशो भवति ॥

39. In the chhandas (Vedas), घस्लु is diversely substituted for भद्.

घस्ताङ्गुन्म् । सन्धिभ्रमे । (Yajur Veda Vaj. S. XVIII. 9). Sometimes it does not take place; as आतामय मध्यतो मेद् उद्भुतम् .

The word बहुलं is used in this sūtra and the word अन्यतरस्याम् in the next. There is evidently difference between the senses of these words; otherwise Pāṇini would not have employed them in such juxtaposition, had they been synonymous. For then the anuvritti of बहुलं in the next sūtra would have been sufficient. The following verse indicates that difference.

कश्चित् प्रवृत्तिः कश्चिदप्रवृत्तिः , कश्चित्प्रविभाषा कश्चिदन्यदेव ।

विधेर्विधानं बहुधा समीक्ष्य , चातुर्विधं बाहुलकं बहन्ति ॥

'Sometimes they are, where there is no express rule for their application; sometimes they are not applied, in spite of an express rule for their application; sometimes they are optionally employed or not, and sometimes there is some other result, licence permitted by the rule.' Thus in घस्ताम् there is not elision of the penultimate.

लिट्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि , अन्यतरस्याम्,

(अदः, घस्लु, आः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतोऽपि अन्यतरस्यां घस्तावेशो भवति ॥

40. When लिट् (Perfect) follows घस्लु is optionally the substitute of भद्.

जघास or आद् 'he ate,' जज्जतुः or आद्तुः 'they two ate,' जज्जुः or आद्जुः 'they all ate.' The word जज्जतुः is thus formed:—घस् + अतुस् = घस् + घस् + अतुस् (VI.

1. 8) = व + वस् + भतुस् (VII. 4. 60) = व + वस् + भतुः (VII. 4. 62) = व + वस् + भतुस् (VIII. 4. 53) = व + वस् + भतुस् (VI. 4. 98.) = वस्तुः (VIII. 3. 60).

वेञ्जी वयिः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेञ्जः, वयि, (लित्यन्यतरस्यात्, आहुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेञ्जी वयिरादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां लिटि परतः ॥

41. When लिट् follows, वयि is optionally the substitute of वेञ् 'to weave.'

In the Perfect tense thus we have two roots: Let us first take वेञ्. Then we have regularly वे + लिट् = वे + णत् = वयो. The roots in वृ, वृ and ओ are treated like roots ending in भ thus:—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	} In this case samprasāraṇa ordained by VI. 1. 17 does not take place by VI. 1. 40.
1.	वयो	वयिव	वयिव	
2.	वयिय or ववाय, ववयुः	वव	वव	
3.	ववौ	ववतुः	ववुः	

When however we take the base वय्, the वृ being for the sake of articulation only, we have the following forms:—वय् + णत् = वय् + वय् + भ (VI. 1. 8) = वय् + वय् + भ (VI. 1. 17) = ववाय; the य is not changed into वृ by VI. 1. 38. In this dual we have वय् + भतुस् = वय् + भतुः (VI. 1. 15) = व + वय् + भतुः (VII. 4. 60) = वयतुः. The affix भतुस् being कित् affix by rule I, 2. 5 there is samprasāraṇa before reduplication. Thus we have ववाय, वयतुः, ववुः. Further by rule VI. 1. 39 before कित् affixes व may be optionally substituted for य, i. e., वयतुः or ववतुः and ववुः or ववुः.

हनो वध लिटि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, वध, लिटि (आहुः घातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोर्वध इत्ययमादेशो भवति लिटि परत आहुर्घातुके ॥

42. वध् is the substitute of हन् 'to kill,' when the ārdhadhātuka लिट् (Benedictive) follows.

वध्यात् 'may he kill,' वध्यास्ताम् 'may they two kill,' वध्यातुः 'may they all kill.'

The substitute वध् ends with short अ, this अ is elided. This elision being like the original (sthānivat I. 1. 56), in forming the Aorist वध्, we have अवध् + ० + ईत् = अवधीत्. Here zero being sthānivat prevents the वृद्धि of अ of व which otherwise would have taken place by VII. 2. 7.

लुङि च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङि; च (हनो, बध, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि च परतो हनो बध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

43. And when लुङ् (Aorist) follows, च् is the substitute of हन् .

भवधीत् 'he killed,' भवधीष्टाम् 'they all killed.' The division of this aphorism from the last sūtra (yoga-vibhāga) indicates that the next rule applies to Aorist only and not to Benedictive as well. There is no option in Benedictive Atmanepada.

आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अन्य-तरस्याम्, (हनो, बध, लुङि, आः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेषु निरुद्धे प्राप्ते विकल्प उच्यते । आत्मनेपदेषु परतो हनो लुङ्पन्यतरस्यां च इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

44. When Atmanepada affixes follow, च् is optionally the substitute of हन् in the लुङ् (Aorist).

Thus भावधिष्ट or भाहत् ; भावधिपाताम् or भाहसाताम् ; भावधिषत् or भाहसत् .

The verb हन् becomes Atmanepadi when preceded by आ (I. 3. 28). By sūtra I. 2. 14, the Aorist-affixes in the Atmanepada are क्ति after हन् and by VI. 4. 37 the न is elided before क्ति affixes, then by VIII. 2. 27 the च् is elided. Thus आहन् + सिच् + त् = आहत् .

इणो गा लुङि ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, गा, लुङि, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणो गा इत्ययमादेशो भवति लुङि परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इण्वधिक इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

45. गा is the substitute of the root इण् when लुङ् follows.

अगात् 'he went.' (II. 4. 77) अगाताम् 'they two went' अगुः 'they all went.' The repetition of the word लुङ् in this sūtra though its anuvṛitti was coming from the last aphorisms, indicates that there is no option allowed even in the Atmanepada, गा being the invariable substitute in all the Padas. Thus अगादि भवता 'you went.' The form अगात् is thus evolved अ+गा+सिच्+त् = अगात् (II. 4. 77.)

Vart.—गा is the substitute of इक् 'to remember' in the Aorist, as it is of हन्. Thus अभ्यगात् 'he remembered.' अभ्यागाताम्, अभ्यगुः. The root इक् belongs to Adādi class.

जा गनिरबोधने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जा ; गनिः , अबोधने ,
(खः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जो परत इणोऽबोधनार्थस्य गनिरादेशो भवति ॥

46. When the affix णि (Causal) follows, गमि is the substitute of इण् when the sense is not that of 'informing' but that of 'going.'

गमयति 'makes him go' गमयतः, गमयन्ति &c. But प्रत्याययति 'causes to believe.' अभिगमयति. The इ of गमि is for articulation. So also इक् to 'remember'; as, अभिगमयति ॥

सनि च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि , च , (इणः , अबोधने ,
गमिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि परत इणोऽबोधनार्थस्य गनिरादेशो भवति ॥

47. And when सन् (Desiderative) follows, गमि is the substitute of ण् when the sense is not that of 'informing.'

जिगमिषति 'wishes to go' जिगमिषतः, जिगमिषन्ति. But भयान् प्रसीदति 'he wishes to inform the meaning.' So also with इक्, as अभिजिगमिषति. The yoga-vibhāga indicates that the anuvṛtti of सन् only runs in the next sūtra and not of णि. The form is thus evolved in the Parasmaipada; गन् + सन् = गन् + गन् + स (VI. 1. 9) = ग + गन् + स (VII. 4. 60) = ज + गन् + स (VII. 4. 62) = ज + गन् + इट + स (VII. 2. 50) = जिगमिष, and then we add the personal terminations.

इङ्श्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इङ्ः , च , (सनि ; गमिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङ्श्च सनि परतो गनिरादेशो भवति ॥

48. And of इङ् 'to study,' गमि is the substitute when सन् follows.

अभिजिगांसते , • सेते, • सन्ते 'he wishes to study.' The root इङ् is always preceded by the preposition अभि. This will be Atmanepadi by I. 3. 12 and I. 1. 56. The form is similarly evolved by the application of rules VII. 2. 58, and VI. 4. 16.

गाङ् छिटि ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाङ् , छिटि , (इङ्ः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाङ्देशो भवतीहो छिटि परतः ॥

49. गम् is the substitute of इद् when लिद् (Perfect) follows.

The substitute being like its original (I. 1. 68.) गद् would have been Atmanepadi, even without the indicatory, इ. Why has then this इ been added to it? The object is that in the sūtra I. 2. 1. गद् there should mean this substitute गद् and not the verb गद् 'to go.'

Thus we get अधिजग्ने 'he studied'. अधिजगाते, अधिजगिरे. See VI. 4. 64 and III. 4. 8.

विभाषा लुङ्लृङोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, लुङ्लृङोः (इङ्, वि, गद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृङि लृङि च परत इङो विभाषा गाढादेशो भवति ॥

50. गद् is optionally the substitute of इद् when लृङ् (Aorist) and लृङ् (Conditional Future) follow.

Let us take the case when गद् replaces इद्. The affixes of लृङ् and लृङ् are treated as इत् by I. 2. 1. and then by the Rule VI. 4. 66 (When an Ardhadhātuka affix, beginning with a consonant and distinguished by an indicatory क or इ follows; then let ई be the substitute of long आ of the verbs termed घृ and of ना, स्या, गा, पा, हा, सी), we get अध्यगीष्ट (अधि+अ+गी+इत्), अध्यगीषाताम्, अध्यगीषत्. In the alternative we have अघ्येष्ट, अघ्येषाताम् and अघ्येषत्.

So also in लृङ्; as अध्यगीष्यत्, अध्यगीष्येताम्, अध्यगीष्यन्त, or in the alternative, अघ्येष्यत्, अघ्येष्येताम् and अघ्येष्यन्त.

णौ च संञ्चङो, ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णौ, च, सन्-चङो, (इङ्, गद्, विभाषा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णौ सन्परं चङ् परं च परत इङो विभाषा गाढादेशो भवति ॥

51. गद् is optionally the substitute of इद् in the causative लि, when that causative takes the affix san (desiderative) and चाण् (Aorist).

अधिजिगापयिषति or अध्यापिपयिषति 'he desires to teach.' The form is thus evolved: गा + णिच् = गाणि (VII. 3. 36); then by the rules already stated, we get the above form with the affix सन्. अध्यनीगपत् or अध्यापिपत् 'he taught.' The ई is changed into आ by VI. 1. 48. Thus इ + णिच् = आ + णिच् = आ + ष् + इ = आषि. This rule applies to the desideratives of causatives and aorist of causatives.

अस्तेभूः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तेः, भूः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तेर्धातोर्भू इत्यव्ययदेशो भवति भार्द्धधातुके ॥

52. भू is the substitute of the verb भस् 'to be,' when an ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

भविता 'he will be,' भवितुम् 'in order to be,' भवितव्यम् 'must be.' Now the Perfect tense affixes are also ârdhadhâtuka affixes (III. 4. 115). The Perfect of भस् is therefore the same as that of भू, namely, बभूव &c. There is, however, an important exception to this rule, namely, when भस् is employed as an auxiliary verb in forming Periphrastic Perfect of other verbs. In that case भस् forms its Perfect tense regularly, भास, भासतुः, भासुः &c. This apparent breach of the present sūtra is explained by taking the term कृम् in III. 1. 40. as a Pratyâhâra including कृ, भू and भस्, and if भस् could not form its Perfect in the regular way, its inclusion in this Pratyâhâra would be useless; hence we conclude, that as an auxiliary verb, भस् forms its Perfect regularly.

ब्रुवो वचिः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, वचिः, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रुवो वचिरादेशो भवति भार्द्धधातुके विषये ॥

53. वचि is the substitute of ब्रू 'to speak' when any ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

वक्ता 'he will speak,' वक्तुम् 'in order to speak.' The इ of वचि is for the sake of articulation only. The substitute being like the principal, वच् is Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, as ऊचे 'he spoke,' वक्ष्यते 'he will speak.'

चक्षिङ्ः ख्याञ् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चक्षिङ्ः, ख्याञ्, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चक्षिङ्ः ख्यामादेशो भवति भार्द्धधातुके ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लशादिरेष्ययमादेश इष्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्जने प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ असनयोश्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं संज्ञान्त्वोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. ख्याञ् is the substitute of चक्षिङ् 'to perceive, to tell,' when any ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

आख्याता 'he will perceive or tell'; आख्यातुम् 'in order to tell'; आख्यातव्यम् 'must be told.' The substitute being like the principal, चक्षिङ् being always Atmanepadi (I. 3. 12), ख्याञ् would have also been always Atmanepadi. But in that case the letter ञ् would have no scope; it therefore follows that ख्याञ् is not always Atmanepadi, but under conditions mentioned in I. 3. 72.

Vart:—This substitute is also said to begin with क्त्वा instead of स्व . Thus भाक्याता , भाक्यातुम् , भाक्यातव्यम् .

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when meaning 'exclusion' ; as दुर्जनाः संवत्स्याः 'bad men should be excluded.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the affixes भव and भन follow: as नृचक्षा राज्ञसाः 'the Rākshasas are cruel.' This is Vedic Sanskrit ; modern नृचक्षः. The meaning of the root चक्ष here, is 'to injure.' So also विचक्षणः पण्डितः ; here the affix is भन .

Vart:—Substitutes are made diversely in denoting appellatives and not qualities and in the Vedic Sanskrit; as भनम् 'food' (here the substitute जग्धि does not replace भद्); वधकम् 'killer' (वध being substituted for हन् before एवञ्); गान् 'body' (गा is substituted for इण before the unādi affix टन्); विचक्षणः (here चक्ष is not replaced by ख्या before भन); भज्जितम् 'a court yard' (here भज्ज is not replaced by ख्ये as the next sūtra 56 requires).

वा लिटि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, लिटि, (चक्षिङ्, ख्याञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतश्चक्षिङ्ः ख्यामादेशो वा भवति ॥

55. ख्याञ् is optionally the substitute of चक्षिङ् when लिट् (Perfect) follows.

The लिट् also is an ārdhadhātuka affix and by the last sūtra ख्या would always have been the substitute of चक्ष्; the present sūtra makes this substitution optional, as आचख्यो , आचख्यतुः and आचख्युः . In the alternative we have आचचक्षे , आचचक्ष्ताते and आचचक्षिरे ; 'he told &c.'

अजेर्व्यघञपोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजेः, वी, अघञ्-अपोः (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजेर्धातोर्वात्ययमादेशो भवत्यार्द्धधातुके परतो घञपो वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घञपोः प्रतिषेधे क्पण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वजादावार्द्धधातुके विकल्प इत्यते ॥

56. वी is the substitute of the verb अञ् 'to drive,' 'to lead,' when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows, with the exception of the affixes घञ् (III. 3. 18.) and अप् (III. 3. 69).

प्रवायकः 'driver,' प्रवायणीवः .

Why do we say 'with the exception of घञ् and अप्'? Observe सम् + भज् + घञ् = समजः 'society'; उवाञ्जः 'driving out': So also with अप्, as समजः 'a multitude or herd of animals &c.' उवञ्जः 'driving out of cattle.' See III. 3. 69.

Why have we used वी with a long ई? For the sake of forms like प्रवीताः &c.

Vart.—Prohibition must also be stated (along with चम् and भम्) of the affix क्यप् , as समझया 'a meeting, fame.'

Vart.—The substitution is optional before Ārdhadhātukas beginning with a letter of वल् Pratyāhāra (all consonant except व) as प्रवेत्ता or प्राजिता प्रवेतुम् or प्राजितुम् . See VI. 2. 144 for accent.

वा यौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, यौ, (अजेः वी, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यौ परभूते अजेर्वा वी इत्ययमवैशो भवति ॥

57. वी is optionally the substitute of अज् when the affix यु (III. 3. 15 &c.) follows.

This declares an option in case of the affix व्युद् , the word यु in the Sūtra referring to this affix ; as, प्रवयनः or प्राजतो इण्डः 'driving stick or whip.'

व्यसन्नविदार्षजितो युनि लुगणितो ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्य-सन्निय-
आर्ष-जितः, युनि, लुग्, अण्-इजोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एयान्तात् क्षत्रियोक्तान् भार्गवजितश्च परयोरणिभ्योर्युनि लुग् भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ भद्राद्यणगोत्रनाम्ना युवप्रत्ययस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

58. After a word ending with the Gotra affix ण् (IV. 1. 151 and after a Gotra word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya or a Rishi (seer), and after a word ending with a Gotra affix having an indicative ण् , the affix अण् and इण् employed in forming युवन् (IV. 1. 163) descendants, are elided by the substitution of लुक् ॥

1. Thus by sūtra IV. 1. 151 (the affix एय comes after कुरु &c., in denoting descendent) we get कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः (VII. 2. 117) 'a grandson of Kuru.' This is a Gotra word (IV. 1. 162). Now in forming a word denoting a lower descendent than grandson, we add a Yuvan affix. Thus कौरव्य + इण् (IV. 1. 95). Now this इण् is elided by the present sūtra, and we get the form कौरव्यः which thus means both a Gotra and a Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) descendent of Kuru. So that कौरव्यः is the name both of the father and the son.

Now it may be objected : 'the word कौरव्यः belongs to the त्रिकादि class and by IV. 1. 154, it will take the affix क्तिम् . Do we, what we may, the form will be कौरव्यायणिः (VII. 1. 2.)' To this we reply, the word कौरव्यः which we see in that list of त्रिक् &c., is not the word कौरव्यः which we formed by adding एय under rule IV. 1. 151; that Tikādi word is formed by एव under rule IV. 1. 172, and is confined to Kshatriya. The कौरव्यः which we have taken, denotes a Brahmin Gotra formed by IV. 1. 151.

2. Now to give an example of a word denoting the descendent of a Kshatriya. We take IV. 1. 114. which tells us that 'the affix भ्ण् may be added to the words which are the names of Rishis, or of persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, or Vrishinis or Kuru.' The Andhaka family is a Kshatriya family, and स्वफल्कः is a person of that family. Then स्वफल्क + भ्ण् = स्वाफल्कः 'a descendent of Svaphalka.' This is a Gotra descendent. In forming Yuvan descendent we have स्वाफल्क + इम्. Now this इम् must be elided by the present sūtra. So that स्वाफल्कः means both father and the son.

3. Now to give an example of Rishis family. The sūtra last mentioned IV. 1. 114. will also hold here. We take the word वसिष्ठः; and वसिष्ठ + भ्ण् = वासिष्ठः; the Yuvan affix इम् will] similarly be elided after this; and thus the word वासिष्ठः means both the father and the son.

4. Then to take the example of Gotra word formed by affixes having indicatory ञ्. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 104. declares 'the affix भञ् comes after the words विद् &c., in denoting Gotra descendents.' Thus विद् + भञ् = वैद्ः; Then add इम् to denote Yuvan descent, and we have वैद् + इम्. By the present rule this इम् is elided and thus we have वैद्ः both for the father and the son.

The above examples show the elision of the affix इम्. Now we shall give example of the elision of the affix भ्ण्. Now rule IV. 1. 154 says 'the affix किञ् comes after the words तिक् &c., in denoting descendent.' Thus तिक् + किञ् = तैकायनिः (VII. 1. 2.) Then to form the Yuvan descendent we add भ्ण् by IV. 1. 83. Thus तैकायनि + भ्ण्. By the present sūtra, this भ्ण् is elided, and we have तैकायनिः both applicable to the father and the son. Other examples can be multiplied.

Why do we say 'there is elision only after these words'? The Yuvan affix will not be elided after other words. Thus rule IV. I. 112 says:— 'The affix भ्ण् comes after शिव् &c., in forming Gotra.' कौहड + भ्ण् = कौहड Now this is neither a word formed by एव nor is it the name of a Kshatriya or a Rishi; nor any affix having ञ् goes to form it. Therefore the Yuvan affix इम् will not be elided after this. Thus कौहड + इम् (IV. I. 95) कौहडिः 'son of Kauhada.'

Why do we say 'affix denoting Yuvan descendent is elided?' An affix not denoting ^२ Yuvan descendent will not be elided. Thus the pupils of वामरथ्य are called वामरथ्याः which word is thus formed: वामरथ + एव = वामरथ्यः 'a descendent of Vāmaratha' (IV. 1. 115). Then to denote pupils we add भ्ण् by IV. 2. 111. Thus वामरथ्य + भ्ण् = वामरथ्यः 'a pupil of Vāmarathya.'

Why do we say 'Yuvan affix भ्ण् and इम् are elided'? The other Yuvan affixes under similar circumstances are not elided. Thus the Yuvan

descendent of दाक्षि (grandson of दक्ष) will be दाक्षावपः. Here the affix कक् (IV. 1. 101) is not elided.

Vart:—All Yuvan affixes are elided after Gotra words not denoting Brahmin Gotras; as दौषिः applies equally to father and son; जाबालिः father, जाबालिः son; भौदुम्बरिः father, भौदुम्बरिः son; भाण्डीजद्विः father, भाण्डीजद्विः son. Here, first इम् is added by IV. 1. 173, then कक् to denote Yuvan descendent. Then this कक् is elided by the present Vartika.

पैलादिभ्यश्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पैल-आदिभ्यः, च (युनि, लुग-णिजोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पैल इत्येवमादिभ्यश्च युवप्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

59. And after the words पैल &c. there is the लुक् elision of the युवन affix.

पैला + भण = पैलः (IV. 1. 118). 'The Gotra descendent of Paila.' पैलः + क्त्वि (IV. 1. 156). The present rule intervenes, and the Yuvan affix क्त्वि is elided; so पैल is both a Gotra and a Yuvan word. Some say that the 'Paila &c. words are formed by the affix इम्; (IV. 1. 95) and then the 'luk-elision of the Yuvan affix would be valid by the next rule 60. They would limit the scope of the present sūtra to cases where the Gotra of the people is not known, the Prachyas not being indicated.

1. पैल . 2. शालङ्कि . 3. सारथकि . 4. सारथकानि . 5. राहवि . 6. रावणि . 7. भौदुम्बि . 8. भौदुम्बिजि . 9. भौदुम्बेचि . 10. भौदुम्बयजि . 11. भौदुम्बजि . 12. भौदुम्बिजि . 13. वैवल्यानि . 14. पैङ्गलायनी . 15. राहक्षति . 16. भौलिङ्गि . 17. राणि . 18. भौदुम्बि . 19. भौदुम्बानि . 20. भौजिहान . 21. भौदुम्बि . 22. तद्राजाच्छापः . 23. तद्राज .

इजः प्राचासु ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इजः, प्राचासु, (युनि, लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे च इम् तदन्तायुवप्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

60. After a word ending with the Gotra affix इम् (IV. 1. 95) there is luk-elision of the Yuvan affix, when the Gotra of the people called Prachya (Eastern) is denoted.

पान्नागर + इम् = पान्नागारिः 'the Gotra descendent of Pannāgara'; after this the Yuvan affix कक् (IV. 1. 101) is elided by the present rule, and so पान्नागारिः is both the father and the son. So मान्यरैषणिः father and son. The word प्राचासु here qualifies the word Gotra understood and does not show that it is an optional rule in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. When the Gotra of Prāchyas is not denoted, there is no elision. Thus दाक्षिः and दाक्षावपः 'son of Dākshi.'

न तौत्वलिभ्यः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, तौत्वलिभ्यः, (युनि, लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तौत्वल्यादिभ्यः परस्य युवप्रत्ययस्य न लुग् भवति ॥

61. After the words तौत्वलि and the rest there is not luk-elision of the Yuvan affix.

तौत्वलिः is the name of the father and तौत्वलायनः is the son of the former, formed by the Yuvan affix फक् (IV. 1. 101).

1. तौत्वलि . 2. धारणि . 3. पारणि . 4. रावणि . 5. ऐन्नीपि . 6. देवति .
7. चार्कलि . 8. नैवति . 9. नैवकि . 10. देवनिजि . 11. देवमति . 12. देववह्नि . 13. चाफहकि . 14. वैन्वकि . 15. वैकि . 16. वैङ्क . 17. आनुहारति . 18. आनुराहति .
19. पोष्करसाधि . 20. आनुरोहति . 21. आनुति . 22. प्रागोहति . 23. नैत्रिभि . 24. प्राडाहति . 25. बान्धकि . 26. वैशीति . 27. आसिनासि . 28. आहिसि . 29. आधुरि .
30. नैत्रिषि . 31. आसिबन्धकि . 32. पौष्प . 33. कारेणुपानि . 34. वैकर्षि . 35. वैरकि . 36. वैहति ॥

तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवास्त्रियाम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्राजस्य, बहुषु, तेन-एव, अस्त्रियाम्, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्राजसंतस्य प्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्य अस्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति, तेनैव चेदगोत्रप्रत्ययेन कृतं बहुष्वं भवति ॥

62. There is luk-elision of the तद्राज (IV. I. 174) affix, when the word is used in the plural number, provided that the plural number is taken by the base itself, and not by its standing as a compound epithet dependent upon another word, and provided that the base is not used in the feminine.

आङ्गः = अंग + अण् (IV. 1. 170) 'a prince of Aṅga'; plural अङ्गाः 'the princes of Aṅga.' The affix अण् is elided by the present rule, and the Vriddhi vanishes with it too (I. 1.63); but आङ्ग्यः 'the princesses of Aṅga,' plural of आङ्गी 'a princess of Aṅga.' But प्रियवाङ्गः 'he to [whom the prince of Vanga is beloved]' forms its plural प्रियवाङ्गाः 'they whose beloved is the prince of Vaṅga,' there being no elision.

यस्कृदिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्क-आदिभ्यः, गोत्रे, (बहुषु, तेनैवास्त्रियाम्, लुग्)

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्क इत्येवमादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्यास्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति तेनैव चेदगोत्रप्रत्ययेन कृतं बहुष्वं भवति ॥

63. After the word यस्क &c., there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word of itself and

not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another word, takes the plural; but not in the feminine.

यस्क + अन् = यास्कः 'a descendent of Yaska not nearer than grandson.' In the plural, the affix is elided and the form is यस्काः 'the descendents of Yaska.'

यस्कादयः ॥

1. यस्क . 2. लघ . 3. दुश् . 4. भयस्थूण . 5. भयः स्थूण . 6. वृणकर्ण .
7. सप्तमत्त . 8. कम्बलहार . 9. बहिर्यांग . 10. कर्णाटक . 11. पर्णाटक . 12. पिण्डी
- जङ्ग . 13. वकसथ . 14. वकसक्य . 15. विश्वि . 16. कुर्वि . 17. भजनस्वि . 18.
- मिन्वयु . 19. रत्नोमुख . 20. शङ्करथ . 21. उक्तास . 22. वटुक . 23. मयक . 24.
- मन्यक . 25. पुष्करद् . 26. पुष्करसद् . 27. विषपुट . 28. उपरिमेखल . 29. क्रोष्टुमान .
30. क्रोष्टुमान . 31. क्रोष्टुपाद् . 32. क्रोष्टुमाथ . 33. शीर्षमाथ . 34. इषरथ . 35. परक .
36. वपुक् . 37. भलन्वन . 38. भडिल . 39. भण्डिल . 40. भडित . 41. भण्डिल .

यज्जोश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्-अजोः, च, (बहुषु, तेनैवालुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यत्रोऽयश्च गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्यास्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुञ् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यत्रादीनामेकत्रयोर्वा तत्पुरुषे षष्ठा उपसंख्यानम् ॥

64. And there is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes यम् (IV. I. 105) and अम् (IV. I. 104.) when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another, takes the plural but not in the feminine.

गर्ग + यम् = गार्ग्यः; plural गर्गाः 'the male descendents of Garga'. So also वत्सः 'the male descendents of Vatsa'; the singular being, वात्स्यः. Similarly, बिह + अम् = बँदः (IV. I. 104); plural बिहाः and not बैदाः; similarly भौर्व singular; भौर्वाः plural.

But these affixes are not elided when the word forms part of a compound. Thus, प्रियगार्ग्याः 'those to whom Gārgya is beloved'; प्रियवैदाः 'those to whom Baida is beloved.'

These affixes will not be elided in the feminine. Thus, गार्ग्यैः, वैद्यैः, feminine plurals.

Of course these affixes must be Gotra or patronymic affixes, otherwise there will be no elision. Thus द्वीप + यम् = द्वैप्यः 'living on the island,' plural द्वैप्याः; here the affix यम् is not elided as it does not denote a Gotra. So उत्स + अम् = औत्सः 'the pupil of Utsa,' plural औत्साः.

Vart:—In forming Tat-purusha compound of the singular and dual genitive, the affix यम् and अम् are optionally elided. Thus गार्ग्यैस्व कुलं = गार्ग्यै-कुलं or गार्ग्यकुलं, गार्ग्ययोः कुलं = गार्ग्यकुलं or गार्ग्यकुलं.

Similarly वैदस्य or वैदयोः कुलं = वैदकुलं or विदकुलं .

Why do we say 'the affixes यञ् or भञ्' ? Because other affixes will not be elided in forming तत्पुरुष compound; such as आङ्गकुलं ।

Why do we say 'singular or dual' ? Because in the plural तत्पुरुष compound these affixes must necessarily be elided and not optionally; thus गर्गाणां कुलं = गर्गकुलं .

Why do we say 'in forming तत्पुरुष compound' ? Because in forming other compounds, these affixes will not be elided. Thus, उपगार्ग्ये which is an अद्ययीभाव compound, meaning गार्गस्य समीपं . Of course, it is only in the Genitive तत्पुरुष that this rule is applicable; it will not therefore apply in कर्मधारय तत्पुरुष &c., as परमगार्ग्येः ।

अत्रिभृगुकुत्सवसिष्ठगोतमाङ्गिरोभ्यश्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्रि-
भृगु-कुत्स-वसिष्ठ-गोतम-अङ्गिरोभ्यः, च, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

65. And after the words अत्रि, भृगु, कुत्स, वसिष्ठ, गोतम अङ्गिरस, there is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix, when the word takes the plural, but not in feminine.

Thus the plural of आनेय (अत्रि + इक IV. 1. 122.) the descendent of अत्रि, is अत्रयः; the regular plural of अत्रि. So also, singular भार्गवः, plural भृगवः; singular कौरवः, plural कुत्साः; so, वसिष्ठाः, गोतमाः, अङ्गिरसः. In all these the affix has been elided. Thus भृगु + भञ् = भार्गवः 'the descendent of Bhrigu. Of course, it is only in the plural number that the Gotra affixes इक and भञ् are elided, not in any other number; so we have in singular आनेयः भार्गवः; dual आनेयौ भार्गवौ; plural आत्रयः, भृगवः &c.

But when these words are part of a compound, the Gotra affixes are not elided in forming their plural. Thus प्रियानेयाः or प्रियभार्गवाः ।

In the Feminine plural the affixes are not elided. Thus:—आनेय्यः

त्रिवः ।

बह्वच इज प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बह्वचः, इजः प्राच्य-
भरतेषु, (बहुषु० लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वच प्रातिपदिकाद् य इज विहितः प्राच्यगोत्रे भरतगोत्रे च वर्तते तस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

66. There is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix इञ् (IV. I. 95) after a word containing many vowels (a polysyllabic word) which denotes the Gotra of the people called प्राच्य and भरत when the word takes the plural.

The plural of वज्रागादिः is वज्रागाः, there being elision of इङ्; so also मय-देवणाः plural of मान्यदेवणिः; so the plural of बौधिसिद्धिः is बुधिसिद्धिः 'the descendents of Yuddhishtira. But वैक्किः and पौष्पिः not being polysyllabic, their plural will be वैक्कवः and पौष्पवः . . .

Why do we say 'when denoting the Gotra of Prāchyas and Bhāratas'? Because when denoting the Gotra of any other people, these affixes will not be elided. Thus बालाकवः plural of बालाकिः, हस्तिदासवः plural of हस्तिदासिः .

Though the Bhāratas are Prāchyas, its specification here is to indicate that, wherever 'Prāchyas' will be used, it will not include Bhāratas as in V. 4. 60. Here the Yuvan affix of Bhāratas will not be elided. Thus भार्जुनिः father, भार्जुनावनः son.

न गोपयनादिभ्यः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गोप-यन-आदिभ्यः (लुग्), ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपयनादिभ्यः परस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुग् न भवति ॥

67. After the words गोपयन, &c., there is not luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word takes the plural.

This prevents the application of II. 4. 64. Thus गोपयन + भम् = गोपयनः, plural गोपयनाः; singular शौमवः, plural शौमवाः. The गोपयन &c.. belong to Vidādi class, vide IV. 1. 104, and are the following:—गोपयन, शिशु, बिन्दु, भजन्, भद्रव, भवतान, इयावक and इवारव. The remaining words such as हरित &c., should not be taken in this sub-class. In the case of हरित &c., the Gotra affix must be elided in the plural by Rule 64. Thus हरिताः किदासाः &c.

तिककितवादिभ्यो ह्रन्दे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिक-कितव-आदिभ्यः, ह्रन्दे, (बहुलुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिकादिभ्यः कितवादिभ्यश्च ह्रन्दे गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

68. After the words तिक कितव &c. when used as Dvandva compound, there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affixes, when the compound word takes the plural.

Thus तिक + फिम्र = तैकायनिः (IV. 1. 154). Its plural is तैकायनवः । तैकायनवः + कैतवायनवः = तिककितवः । There is elision of फिम्र. So also बांखरिः plural बांखरवः (IV. 1. 95) + भाखरीरथवः = बांखरभंडीरथाः; there is elision of इभ्र (IV. 1. 95). The following is a list of such compounds.

1. तिककितवाः 2. बख्खरभाखरीरथाः 3. उपकलपकाः (भोरकायनाः + लामकायनाः IV. 1. 99, elision of फक्). 4. पककनरकाः (पाककवः + नारकवः IV. 1. 95, elision

of इम्). वकनखगुर्परिणहाः, 6. उज्जक्रकुभाः (भौष्मवः IV. 1. 95. + काकुभाः IV, 1. 112, then the elision of इम् and अण्). 7. लङ्गुशान्तमुखाः (the elision of इम् IV. 9. 95 as in 4). 8. उरसलंकशः (औरसायनवः IV. 1. 154 + लांकशः IV. 1. 95, elision of किम् and इम्). 9. भट्टक कपिष्ठलाः (elision of इम् as in 4) 10. कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दराः (elision of इम्) 11. अग्निवेश—शासेरकाः (आग्निवेशः IV. 1. 105 + शासेरकः IV, 1. 95, elision of both यम् and इम्).

उपकादिभ्योऽन्यतरस्यामद्वन्द्वे ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपक-आदिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, अद्वन्द्वे, (बहुषु लुग् द्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपक इत्येवमादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति अन्यतरस्यां द्वन्द्वे वा द्वन्द्वे च ॥

69. After the words उपक &c. there is optionally luk-elision of the Gotra affix when the words take the plural whether they enter into a Dvandva compound, or are used separately.

Of the words belonging to this list, three have already been enumerated in the group of Tika-kitavādi of the last sūtra. The elision is invariable in the Dvandva compound of these three, but when used separately the elision is optional. As, उपकलमकाः, भट्टककपिष्ठलाः, कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दराः. But the plurals of औपकायनयः, the Gotra-derivative of उपक (IV. I. 99) is उपकाः or औपकायनाः; of ज्ञामकायनः is लमकाः or ज्ञामकायनाः; of भट्टकि is भ्राटकाः or भ्राटकयः. The plural of कापिष्ठलिः is कपिष्ठलाः or कापिष्ठलयः. The plural of कार्ष्णाजिनिः is कृष्णाजिनाः or कार्ष्णाजिनवः. The plural of कृष्णसुन्दरः is कृष्णसुन्दराः or कार्ष्णसुन्दरवः.

Of the rest of the words belonging to this group, there is option allowed, both when they occur in Dvandva compound or when used alone. They are as follow:—

1. पण्डारक . 2. अण्डारक . 3. गडुक . 4. सुपर्यक . 5. सुपिष्ट . 6. मयूर-कर्ण . 7. खारीजङ्घ . 8. शलाबल . 9. पतञ्जल . 10. कडेरणि . 11. कुपीतक . 12. काशकृस्त्र . 13. निदाघ . 14. कलशीकण्ठ . 15. शमकण्ठ . 16. कृष्णपिंगल . 17. कर्णक . 18. पर्यक . 19. जटिलक . 20. वधिरक . 21. जन्तुक . 22. अनुजोम . 23. अर्द्धपिंगलक . 24. प्रतिलोम . 25. प्रतान . 26. अनभिहित . (27. चूडारक . 28. उदङ्ग . 29. सुधायुक . 30. भवन्धक . 31. पदञ्जल . 32. अनुग्रह . 33. अपजग्ध . 34. कमक . 35. लेखाभ . 36. कमन्धक . 37. पिञ्जल . 38. मसूरकर्ण . 39. मदाघ . 40. करामत्त . 41. शमकण्ठ) ॥

आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्ति कुण्डिनच् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अगस्त्य-कौण्डिन्ययोः, अगस्ति-कुण्डिनच्, (बहुषु लुग्, अणो यजः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरणो यजश्च बहुषु लुग् भवति परिशिष्टस्वश्च प्रकृतिभागस्व च्यासंख्यमगस्ति कुण्डिनच् इत्येतावदेशो भवतः ॥

70. There is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes भण् and वम् of the words भगस्व and कौण्डिन्य, when they take the plural; and the words भगस्ति and कृण्डिनच् are the substitutes of the bases so remaining afetr the elision.

The plural of भगस्व is भगस्वयः (as if it was the plural of भगस्ति) and of कौण्डिन्यः is कृण्डिनाः. The affix भण् (IV. 1. 114.) after भागस्व and the affix वम् (IV. 1. 105) after कौण्डिन्य are elided.

The च in कृण्डिनच् is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 163); the word कृण्डिन has udātta on the middle vowel; and its substitute will also have the same accent. There is no elision however in भागस्तीयारुषा (IV. 1. 89) कौण्डिनारुषाः (IV. 2. III).

सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि सुपः, धातु-प्रातिपदिकयोः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपो विभक्तोर्धातुसंज्ञायाः प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायाश्च लुग् भवति ॥

71. There is luk-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or as a crude form.

A noun is changed into a root (धातु) when it is made a denominative verb. As पुनीयति (III. 1. 8) he wishes for a son of his own. A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude-form (I. 2. 46); as कटभित्तः 'having recourse to pain' राजपुरुषः 'king's man.' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided.

Thus पुनीय इच्छति = पुनीयति, here the 2nd case-affix is elided. कटभित्तः = कटभित्तः &c.

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of धातु or प्रातिपदिक ?

Because when it gets any other name, such as भङ्ग &c., the case-affix is not elided. Thus वृक्षः, वृक्षः ।

अदिप्रभृतिभ्यः शपः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदि-प्रभृतिभ्यः, शपः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदिप्रभृतिभ्य उन्तरस्य शपो लुग् भवति ॥

72. After the verb भृ 'to eat' and the rest, there is luk-elision of the Vikarāṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

Thus भृ + शप् + ति = भृति 'he eats'; हन्ति 'he kills'; ईदृष्टि 'he envies. The Adādi verbs belong to the second conjugation. In this class of verbs, therefore, the terminations are added direct to the root.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (शपः लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये शपो बहुलं लुग् भवति ॥

73. In the Chhandas (Vedas) there is diversely the luk-elision of the Vikarāṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

There is elision in other conjugations than Adādi; and there is sometimes even no elision in Adādi verbs. As वृत्रं हन्ति 'he kills Vṛitra.' हन् + शप् + ति = हन्ति instead of हन्ति । So also, अहः शयते instead of शेते. (Rig. V. I. 32. 5). In these cases the Vikarāṇa शप् has not been elided.

In some cases the शप् is elided as चाभ्यम् नो देवाः instead of चाभ्यम् ॥

यङोऽचि च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, अचि, च, (लुग् बहुलम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङो लुग् भवति अचि प्रत्यये परतः, चकारेण बहुलं मह्यमनुकृत्यते न तु छन्दसि इति ॥

74. And there is diversely the luk-elision of यङ् (III. 1. 22) when the affix भञ् (III. 1. 134) follows.

By using 'diversely' there is elision of यङ् when other affixes than भञ् follow, both in the sacred and profane literature; as लोलुबः 'much cutter' (लोलुय + भञ्); पौषुवः 'much purifier.' सनीलंसः from छंस 'to drop.' हनीभंसः from भंस 'to fall,' the नी being added by (VII. 4. 84).

So also यङ् is elided before other affixes than भञ्: thus शाकुनिक्ती जालपीति, हुन्दुभिर्वीवरीति ॥ See also I. 1. 4.

जुहोत्यादिभ्यः श्लुः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुहोति-अदिभ्यः, श्लुः, (शपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुहोत्यादिभ्य उत्तरस्य शपः श्लु भवति ॥

75. After the verbs हू 'to sacrifice' and others, there is ślu-elision of the Vikarāṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

These verbs belong to the Juhotyādi class. जुहोति 'he sacrifices' (VII. 1. 10). श्लु causes the reduplication of the root. So also विभेति 'he fears.' निनेक्ति from निञ् 'to purify,' he purifies.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (शपः श्लुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलं शपः श्लु भवति ॥

76. In the Chhandas there is ślu-elision of शप् diversely.

Elision does not take place where ordained, and takes place where not ordained. इति मियति (instead of इवति) 'he gives pleasant objects,' धाति instead of इधाति .

So also there is *slu*-elision of the *vikarāṇas* after roots other than those belonging to the *Juhotyādi* class. Thus; पूर्णा विवक्षि, जनिम विवक्षि .

गातिस्थाघुपान्मूभ्यः सिचः परस्मैपठेषु ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥
गाति-स्था-घु-पा-न्मूभ्यः, सिचः, परस्मैपठेषु, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाति स्था घु पा न्मूभ्येभ्यः परस्मै सिचो लुग् भवति परसरे पठेषु परतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ गापो मंहणे इणपिबन्धो मंहणम् ॥

77. There is *luk*-elision of the affix सिच् (III. 1. 44) in the *Parasmaipada*, after the verbs गौ 'to go,' स्था 'to stand,' the verbs called घु (I. 1. 20), वा 'to drink' and भू 'to be.'

गा is the substitute of इण् (II. 4. 45). सिच् the affix of the Aorist is elided after these verbs in the *Parasmaipada* as अगात् 'he went,' अस्थात् 'he stood,' अदात् 'he gave,' अधात् 'he held,' अवात् 'he drank,' अभूत् 'he was.'

Vart:—The verbs गा and वा in the aphorism mean the गा 'to go' (which is the substitute of इण्, and not गौ 'to sing,') which also assumes the form गा, and वा 'to drink' and not वा 'to protect.' The verbs गा 'to sing' and वा 'to protect' will form their Aorist with सिच् without its elision; thus अगासीत् 'he sang,' अगासीत् 'he protected.'

In the *Atmanepada* the सिच् is not elided; thus अगासातां प्राप्नो रेवत्तेन .

विभाषा प्राधेट्शालासः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, प्रा-धेट्-शा-
लासः, (सिचः परस्मै विभाषा लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रा धेट् शा ह्या सा इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य सिचः परस्मैपठेषु विभाषा लुग् भवति ॥

78. After the verbs प्रा 'to smell,' वेद् 'to drink,' शा 'शो' 'to pare,' ह्या (ह्यो) 'to cut,' and सा (सो) 'to destroy,' there is optionally the elision of सिच्, when the *parasmaipada* term inations are employed.

Thus अग्रात् or अग्रासीत् 'he smelled,' अधात् or अधासीत् 'he drank,' अशात् or अशासीत् 'he pared,' अह्यात् or अह्यासीत् 'he cut' and असात् or असासीत् 'he destroyed.'

There is no option allowed in *Atmanepada*; thus, अग्रासातां सुमनसो रेवत्तेन ॥

The root धेद् is a *Ghu* verb, and in its case, the सिच् would have been elided by the last rule also. The present declares an option.

तनादिभ्यस्तथासोः, ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदिभ्यः, त-यासोः,
(सिचःविभाषा लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनादिभ्य उत्तरस्व सिचस्तथासोः परतो विभाषा लुग् भवति ॥

79. After the verbs तन् 'to expand, and others there is optionally the luk-elision of सिच् when the Atmanepada affixes त् and याच् of the second person follow.

Thus अतत् (VI. 4. 37) or अतनिष्ट 'he expanded,' अतथाः or अतनिष्ठाः 'thou didst expand.' Similarly असात् or असनिष्ट 'he gave,' असायाः or असनिष्ठाः 'thou didst give.'

The roots तन् and सन् must both belong to the Atmanepada, and not to Parasmaipada. Hence in the Parasmaipada there is no elision of सिच्. Thus, अतनिष्ट वृथ् 'you did expand.'

मन्त्रे घसन्हृयरणशवृदहाद्दृच् कृगमिजनिभ्यो छेः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥
मन्त्रे-घस हृवर-णश-वृ-दह-आत्-वृच्-कृ-गमि-जनिभ्यः, छेः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रविषये घस हर णश वृ दह भात् वृच् कृ गमि जनि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्व ली लुग् भवति ॥

80. In the Mantra portion of the Vedas there is luk-elision of the sign of the Aorist (& Perfect), after the verbs चच् 'to eat' हर 'to be crooked,' ण्य 'to destroy' वृ 'to choose,' 'to cover,' दह 'to burn,' verbs ending in long आ, वृच् 'to avoid,' कृ 'to make,' गमि 'to go' and जनि 'to be produced.'

The word जि is the name given by ancient grammarians to the affixes of Perfect tense as well as the Aorist, or it might be common term for all tense-affixes. Thus from घस we have अज्ञान in the sentence, अर्धन् पितरो ऽमी' मन्व पितरो' ऽतीदृषन्व पितरः पितरः शुन्धन्वम् (Yajurveda XIX. 36 so also Rig. I. 82. 2).

From the verb हृ we have माहर्निनस्य स्वम्. From नरा we have मण्ड् in the following verse मानः संतो अरुषो धूर्तिः मण्ड्मर्त्यस्य । रक्षा गोत्रहणस्यते ॥ (Rig. I. 18. 3.)

The word वृ in the sūtra includes both वृद् and वृम्, as the word वेन in the following ब्रह्मं जज्ञानं प्रथमं पुरस्ताद्विष्टी' मवः सुरुचो' वेन भा' वः । सवु धृष्टा उवृमा भंस्य विष्टाः मत्तश्च योनिमसंतश्च वि वः ॥ (Yajurveda 13. 3).

From दह we have आधक् as in सरस्वदभिनो' नेषिवस्यो मापस्करिः पयसा मान् आधक् ॥ (Rig. VI. 61. 14). The word आत् means verbs ending in long आ as प्रा 'to fill.' Thus, मित्रः देवानामुद्गादनीकं चक्षुर्निनस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः । आप्रा द्यावा पृथिवी भन्तरिक्षं सूर्य आत्मा जगतस्तस्यु च ॥ (Rig. I. 115. 1.)

The root वृच् gives us वर्क as in the following verse:—मा नो अस्मिन्नाहाधने परा-वग् भौरभुधया । संवर्गे संरथिं जवः ॥ (Rig. VIII 75. 12).

From कृ we have अकृन् as in the following verse अकृन् कर्म कर्म कृतः सह वाचा मयो भुवा । देवेभः कर्म कृत्वास्तं प्रेतं सचामुवः ॥ (Yajurveda III. 47).

From गन् we have अग्नन्; as in the following verse: वृत्तेव यत बहुभिर्वसवो स्वेरमि जागृवांसो अनुग्नन् । कृत्वातमग्निं रघीतः बृहंतं वपावतं विश्वहा शीदिसांसं ॥ (Rig. VI. 1.1).

From जन we have अजन्त as अजन्त वा अस्य इन्ताः . This is an example from the Brāhman literature, as the word मन्त्र in the sūtra refers also to the Brāhman literature.

आमः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमः, (डेः, लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमः परस्व जे लङ् भवति ॥

81. There is luk-elision in the room of that tense-affix (न्ति) which comes after आम् of the Perfect.

आम् is used in forming Periphrastic Perfect ईहांचके 'he endeavoured. Here, after the verb ईहाम् all tense-affixes are elided, and the Perfect of कृ is added to form its Perfect. Similarly कृहांचके, ईसांचके ॥

अव्ययादाप्सुपः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययात्, आप्-सुपः, (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययादुत्तरस्यापः सुपश्च लुक् भवति ॥

82. There is luk-elision of आप् (the feminine termination) and सुप् (the case-affixes) after an Avyaya or Indeclinable.

Thus, तत्र शान्नायाम् 'in that hall'. Here the Indeclinable तत्र 'there,' does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to तस्वाम् 'in that.' So also कुराग 'having done' हिराग &c. Here the case-affix is elided.

नाठ्ययीभावादतोऽमूत्त्रपञ्चम्याः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अव्ययीभावात्, अतः, अन्, तु, अपञ्चम्याः, (सुपः लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदन्ताठ्ययीभावानुत्तरस्य सुपो न लुक् भवति, अमादेशस्तु तस्य सुपो मवरत्न-पञ्चम्याः ॥

83. There is not luk-elision of the case-affix after an Avyayi-bhāva compound that ends in आ; आम् is the substitute of its case-affixes, but not when it is the fifth case-affix.

This debars luk-elision which was to have taken place by the last sūtra; instead of luk-elision, we have आम् added to the words ending in short अ; for examples of this, see sūtra II. 1.6; as उपकुम्भंतिष्ठति 'upakumbha is standing'; उपकुम्भं पश्य 'see the upakumbha.'

Why do we say 'after words ending in short अ'? Because after Avyayībhāva compound ending in any other vowels there is not substitution, but there is total-elision of the case-affixes; as अधिल्ली, अधिकुमारी.

But the ablative case-affix is not elided after Avyayībhāva compound ending in short अ, nor is there the अम् substitution; as उपकुम्भादानम्.

तृतीया सप्तम्योर्बहुलम् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-सप्तम्योः, बहुलम्, (अम् अव्ययीभावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीया सप्तम्योर्विभक्तयोर्बहुलमम्भावो भवति अव्ययीभावे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्या ऋद्धि नक्षी समास संख्यावयवेष्वो नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

84. The change to अम् of the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Avyayībhāva compound that ends in अ, occurs diversely.

उपकुम्भेन or उपकुम्भम् कृतं 'done by upakumbha'; उपकुम्भे निधेहि or उपकुम्भम् निधेहि 'put it in the upakumbha.'

Vart. The अम् substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Avyayībhāva compound denotes prosperity (II, 1. 6.) or a compound of rivers (II. 1. 20 and 21) or a compound having a numeral for its member (II. 1. 19); as, सुमद्रम् 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; सुमगपम् 'well or prosperous with the Magadhas'; similarly उन्नतगङ्गम् । ज्योतिषगङ्गम् । एकविंशतिभारद्वाजम् । The word 'diversely' establishes all these even without the Vārtika.

लुटः प्रथमस्य द्वारौरसः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुटः, प्रथमस्य डा-रौरसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुटादेशस्य प्रथमपुरुषस्य परस्मैपदस्यात्मनेपदस्य च द्वारौरस इत्येते भावेषा भवन्ति वयासंख्यम् ॥

85. डा, रौर and रस are substituted respectively in the room of the three-affixes of the third person of लृट् (First-future), both in the Parasmaipada and the Atmanepada.

Thus in the Parasmaipada कर्ता 'he will do,' कर्तारौ 'they two will do,' कर्तारः 'they will do.' So also in the Atmanepada we have अभ्येता, अभ्येतारौ, अभ्येतारः।

Why do we say 'in the 3rd person'? Observe इवः कर्तासि । इवोऽभ्येतासे ॥